NATIONAL GUARDIAN
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WAR & PEACE Pentagon panicked by apathy to war drive

DEFENSE Secy. Marshall last week proclaimed the world situation "now worse than last November," deplored public apathy to the war drive. On the same day Mobilizer Wilson of General Motors said U.S. power is so great that "if I were this country's principal enemy I would be frightened." Next day Wilson somersaulted to the Marshall position, lamented "undue optimism;" later he promised more taxes and sacrifices and "safety by '53."

On Capitol Hill Sen. Fulbright (D-Ark.) demanded a crusade against corruption, named Maj. Gen. Harry (Deep Freeze) Vaughan "the sort of man a code of moral ethics would ban from public life." Vaughan was then on his way to New York to greet France's President Vincent Auriol as Truman's official representative.

Distressed that "the Federal Government does not enjoy at the present time the deep confidence of the American public," the N.Y. **Times** begged "the President and his immediate associates . . . to bring official conduct back to standards of simple right and wrong." In the White House rose garden, in a drizzling rain, the President asked 85 members of the Associated Church Press to help him

> ". . . mobilize the moral forces of the world . . . against the immoral forces . . . so that those forces that believe in honor and ethics and uprightness . . . are in control of the world when we are finished."

WHO'S FRIGHTENED? Unconcerned with morals, the Pentagon—with a reported $99,000,000,000 budget ready to give to Congress this week—was "very frank to admit that the trend toward relaxation of the U.S. war effort now frightens them" (Doris Fleeson, N.Y. **Post**). The **Wall St. Journal** saw the Administration indulging in "cries of havoc" whose underlying idea is "that people must be flogged by fear." Castigating its "fears of complacency" as "worse than unjustified," the **Journal** commented:

> If you begin by saying it is too bad about the good news, you are soon likely to hope for bad news in order to keep things stirred up. And when the leaders of a nation begin to look on bad news with complacency, the people they lead can have small hope of good news.

Its analysis found confirmation in an admission by the N.Y. **Times'** James Reston (April 1) that U.S. policymakers

> . . . don't mind a great debate which is at least exciting, or a direct challenge from the Soviet Union, which involves great danger. But endless wrangling in Paris . . . limited wars far away that seem indecisive, conferences and state visits . . . in short, the necessary and important business of merely going on irritates and bores them more than they dare admit.

THE KLEIG CURTAIN: Onlookers at the scene of moral and general befuddlement feared some reckless move to overcome the growing frustration and confusion in Washington, the public disillusion stemming from revelations of corruption at every government level. (Chief danger spot seemed to be the Balkans, where Yugoslav sources were broadcasting reports of fighting in Albania, the French press reporting the landing of Russian paratroopers and fighters—while the U.S. doubled its Mediterranean fleet with the comment: "We are here more for business than for pleasure.")

The kleig-light-television drama which dissipated the Administration-induced sense of crisis also obscured the crucial issue of peace at stake in the four-power conference in Paris. After five years of an all-out press campaign to convince Americans that no agreement with Russia is possible, the Gallup Poll found 44% of people queried still thought it possible, while 46% did not. From their newspapers Americans could learn little if anything of Russia's many concessions in Paris to pave the way to agreement.

In the deputies' talks to draw up an agenda for a Foreign Ministers' conference—now entering their fifth week—Washington's tactic has been to reject all Russian proposals, to insist on an agenda vague on German disarmament and specific only on alleged Russian and East European rearmament. In **France Soir**, Pertinax wrote of the U.S. proposal:

> This draft is tantamount to a refusal to include German demilitarization in the agenda, and, indeed, suggests that this "demilitarization" is out of date and that German rearmament has now become part of the Western conception of the balance of military power.

ALLIES WANT TO LISTEN: Russia's Gromyko agreed to world-wide arms inspection, to drop all reference to the Potsdam agreement on Germany and let German demilitarization be discussed along with other problems of East-West tension rather than separately. These concessions threatened to bring the split in the Western camp out in the open. The French and British, reported the N. Y. **Times,** felt the Soviet offer

> . . . contained sufficient concessions to present a basis for framing an agenda in which every viewpoint could be heard. The U. S. delegates felt the Soviet offer did not yet provide a consistent hope for agreement. . . .

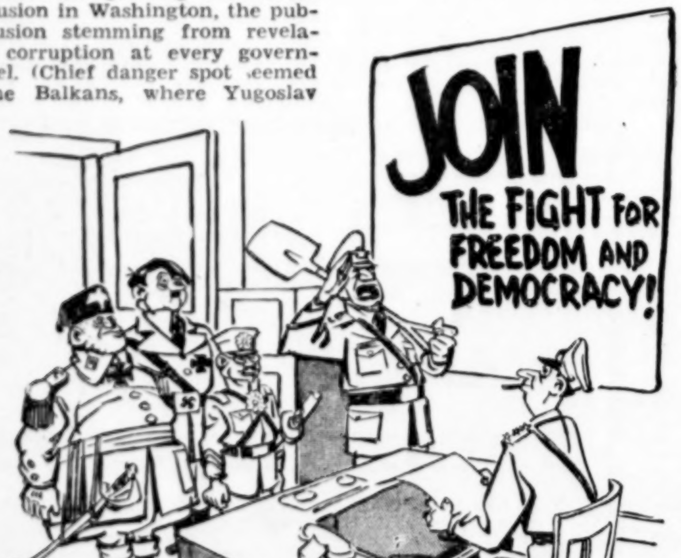
Outside the conference U.S. officials reiterated their determination to rearm Germany and use the atom bomb. In Britain the rapidly-growing National Peace Council (Communists excluded) heard publisher Victor Gollancz attack these statements:

> "It is quite impossible to imagine that negotiations for peace can ultimately succeed if outside those negotiations you launch a statement that war, war, war is what the whole time is in the mind [of that] government."

Tory MP Lord Hinchingbrooke told the Council:

> "The Russian cry is back to Potsdam, and that cry ought to be listened to."

(Continued on Page 3)



"I've just dug up a few recruits."

Indo-China photo by Almasy, Paris

The Situation in Asia

(SEE PAGE 6)

Ethics and Willie McGee

In an indignant speech last week Sen. J. William Fulbright (D-Ark.), chairman of the Senate committee investigating "political influence" in the RFC, called for a drastic clean-up of the morals and ethics of the U. S. Government in face of current revelations of corruption within the law which is "condoned as inevitable." In an open letter to the Senator, Progressive Party chairman and secy. Elmer Benson and C. B. Baldwin pointed out that "members of a privileged minority who believe the end justifies the means, reduce morality to legality and stretch legality into evil" have become "the leaders of our national life"; that these people "will be the first to enlist in your moral crusade, all the better to hide their misdeeds"; and that "without action, your speech will increase national cynicism rather than dissipate it." They added:

YOU ARE A MEMBER of the privileged minority. You have had the advantage of the best education. You have displayed moral sensitivity. Put your professions to the test.

There is a man about to die in the State of Mississippi. He bears the name of Willie McGee. He is a member of the most underprivileged minority in your section of the country. He has been condemned to death under that double standard of custom and justice, hiding behind legality, which has been imposed on the Negro people for 300 years. He was convicted in a lynch atmosphere; even his counsel were assaulted. The end—white supremacy—was supposed to justify the means.

Will you stand by and condone the death of this man? Or will you overcome the moral obtuseness and the double standard of morality and law which condemn him to death?

A moral crusade won't help him.

YOU WILL SAY you can do nothing, that his fate has been handled by the law, his execution will be perfectly legal. That is precisely what you are objecting to in your own investigation—the gap between legality and morality.

There IS something you can do. You can call on the President to intervene to save Willie McGee's life. You can call on the Governor of Mississippi, another member of the privileged minority, to extend the hand of clemency. You can call on your own members of the Senate to investigate the lawlessness of law officials and the wicked standards which prevail for the Negro people—not alone in the South, mind you, but throughout the nation.

We can no longer afford moral obtuseness in our public officials, you say. We commend your call for a moral revival. But let us do it with actions, not with words; with performance, not with pieties; let us do it by closing the gap between the real needs of the American people and the twisted policies fed them by the privileged minority.

Elmer A. Benson, Chairman
C. B. Baldwin, Secretary
Progressive Party

NATIONAL GUARDIAN
the progressive newsweekly

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THE MAIL BAG

For 9 children

NEW YORK, N. Y.

As readers of the GUARDIAN send their letters and telegrams to President Truman to save the life of Willie McGee, I wish to add a reminder of the strain and suffering of his four young children. They are Della Ree, 12; Grace Lee, 11; Willie Earl, 10, and Mary, 9.

Having been deprived of a father during his long years of imprisonment, they now know that his very life is at stake. Their courageous mother, Mrs. Rosalee McGee, cannot be with them now. She is touring the country in an effort to save their father.

The orphaned children of Mrs. Josephine Grayson (their father was one of the Martinsville martyrs) are also deprived of their mother's comforting presence. Mrs. Grayson, like Mrs. McGee, is waging the fight for Willie McGee's life. The Grayson children are Barbara, 9; Frances, 8; Lawrence, 7; Charles, 5, and James, 4.

This is the time for every one of us to take these nine children to our hearts. They need clothing. Toys would be so welcome. They have other vital needs. Send a contribution to the Prisoners' Relief Committee, Civil Rights Congress, 23 W. 26th St., N. Y. C. Let us show these children how big is the family of decent Americans.

Alice Gordon
Director, Prisoners Relief Comm.

Ignorance and courts

BROOKLYN, N. Y.

To Mr. Justice Black, who responded to popular pressure by briefly staying Willie McGee's execution but at the same time termed "ignorant" those who "send telegrams to judges to have cases decided by pressure," I have written protesting that such stigmatization of us who sent telegrams, etc., is both insulting and inaccurate. I pointed out that the Mississippi atmosphere, clearly making a fair trial impossible, constitutes pressure against the accused; and asked why this pressure is apparently proper while pressure for him is improper? I added:

"Since chaos would ensue were every adult citizen to set up his individual code of law and be its enforcement agent, the courts must needs act as our deputies. But that does not make them our masters. Did the ringing Herndon, Scottsboro, Martinsville, Trenton protests spring from a light-minded collective impudence of Americans? I think not. They sprang from the melancholy fact that American justice has been perpetually tainted in its treatment of accused Negroes. Any jurist should be proud rather than resentful of the role played by protesting Americans. And that they may be even prouder, let us hope that future protests, when necessary, may swell in volume and never diminish."

Muriel I. Symington

POW's in Korea (cont.)

ALBANY, N. Y.

Thank you for your letter of March 22 and the copy of the GUARDIAN that contained the information about my husband. I am always grateful for any news about him.

Evelyn Noel

●

ST. PAUL, MINN.

To date have written to 16 mothers about their sons in Korea as per pages 3, 4 and 5 in March 7 issue of the GUARDIAN and am getting replies. Also wrote to two people in England. The people who write are so happy to hear what I wrote them and send me stamped envelopes for answers.

John Kryzak

Through blinding snow

REGINA, SASK., CANADA

As president of the Regina Peace Council, I would not be without the GUARDIAN. The Saskatchewan Peace Council recently lobbied the members of the provincial legislature, including Premier T. C. Douglas, and several members of the cabinet. There were 90 or more persons in the lobby, many of whom drove to Regina from various parts of our sparsely-populated province, through a blinding snow storm. Very satisfactory interviews were held.

Stan Morrison

Butter vs. margarine

CLIFFORD, N. D.

This is the last straw. In your Dollar Stretcher you advise people to buy margarine at one-half the price of butter. On what basis? Just dollars and cents. It cannot be on the basis of good food. Dr. Peterson of the University of Minnesota had an experiment with calves where he took out the butter fat and added vegetable oil, and he could not make the calves live without butter fat. It proved to him there is no substitute for butter, and here you come and defend an oil industry that can't stand on its own feet. It's got to mix milk solids and vegetable fat and steal the yellow color of good butter so people can eat it, and so people think they eat butter. I am a dairy man and I can raise beans too if that is what the money grafters want. I still believe that people want real honest butter on their bread.

Algot Nelson

Maddy's Torpedoes

YARMOUTH, ME.

I want to call attention to another guardian of our liberties. He is 60 years old and does hard manual labor so he may be able to have his writings printed. I personally consider his "Torpedoes" (leaflets) for blasting holes through the Iron Curtain of lies, as some of the best things yet. He should have the backing of every P. P. unit. His address is: Basil Maddy, 2812 East 23d St., Oakland, Calif.

Chester E. Thompson

Those school drills

NOTE: Mr. and Mrs. Earl Price of the Bronx, N. Y., who had kept their 7½-year-old daughter Erika out of school on "sneak-drill" days, were called to the Bronx Bureau of Attendance, abused, threatened with court prosecution. By last week the N. Y. C. Board of Education had apparently decided to drop the case and adopt a new strategy. Hereafter under-the-desk drills will not be announced beforehand but sprung suddenly.

Publicity given the Price campaign helped prevent the prosecution. On the other hand the drills continue. Below is a letter from the Prices. Ed.

BRONX, N. Y.

We have received so many encouraging letters from other parents since the GUARDIAN articles about our case that we feel more than ever that we were right to protest the sneak attack drills.

One letter declares: "I am convinced that enlightened people of this city will be eternally grateful to you for bringing this problem out into the open." It is true that we hoped to do this, but this was only part of the purpose of our protest. Its primary purpose was and is to actually end these drills.

Far from protecting our children, these drills serve only to instill in the minds of children and parents alike the superstition that war is inevitable.

We wish that anyone who does protest these drills would inform us. In that way we can all fight together.

Mr. and Mrs. Earl Price
1737 Washington Av.
Bronx 57, N. Y.

ERIKA PRICE

●

CAMBRIDGE, MASS.

To those of us who are watching with disgust the moral disintegration of the New York City public school system, the news of the Prices' calm stand in protecting their child from contamination by war hysteria comes as a welcome relief.

R. H. M.

A vet on the farm

RAYLAND, O.

Being a disabled veteran of W. W. II and now farming with my father, I sure hope and pray that some day we will have a better system of government. One that will help the people instead of sending them to be killed to protect the profiteers. I'm well aware of the "false prosperity" we're living in also.

Howard C. Wells

The visible empire

RIO LINDA, CALIF.

President Woodrow Wilson said: "The masters of the government of the U. S. are the combined capitalists and manufacturers of the U. S. The government of the U. S. at present is a foster child of special interests. It is not allowed to have a will of its own.

"The government, which was designed for the people, has gotten into the hands of bosses and their employers, the special interests. An invisible empire has been set up above the forms of democracy. America is not a place of which it can be said, as it used to be, that a man may choose his own calling and pursue it as far as his abilities enable him to pursue it. American industry is not free as once it was free; American enterprise is not free."

If these conditions were so apparent to the President at that time, it should be apparent to all now. Is it not about time for the American people to wake up and take a good sneeze to clear the old dust and cobwebs from their brains, and at long last realize the terrible mess that we have drifted into?

Robert Scherlie

Old Bob would blush

MANITOWOC, WIS.

I'm almost ashamed to admit that I live in that great (once Progressive) state of Wisconsin and I'm sure that if Bob LaFollette were to call on us today he would be mortified at what he saw and heard.

In our relations with our fellow members of the UN we are exposing ourselves as the world's outstanding nation of spoiled brats, the kind that kick their elders in ths shins to get their way; in addition, we reflect the attitude of the parent who bawls out the cop when he brings home that precious boy whom he has caught at breaking street light globes, defacing signs and damaging other public property. Sane and logical thinking is impossible when our leaders resort to name calling on the slightest provocation. The nation must be swarming with what Truman calls asinine people and Russians.

John G. Muller

1956 and all that

NEW YORK, N. Y.

Enclosed $10 for 5-year renewal. My faith in your survival and in your ability to increase your circulation, believe me, goes far beyond five years.

Charles Rothenberg
Counselor-at-law

Don't blame us

RICHMOND, CALIF.

I wish to protest against the GUARDIAN's referring to the fascist activities of the Truman Administration as U. S. activities, e.g., "U. S.-Allied rift over China" (issue 1-31). Why should our country be put in such a light? Why should such ideas, motives and activities be attributed to Americans? They belong exclusively to the Administration that is guilty of them. The example quoted should read Administration-Allied rift over China.

J. R. McCollough

Sorry to bring it up, J. R.—but who put the Administration in office? Ed.

Garrison is stirring

WEST NEWBURY, MASS.

You may be interested in this page 1 editorial (March 14) from the Newburyport News. *Newburyport is the birthplace of William Lloyd Garrison, whose statue stands in the town square engraved with his words: "I am in earnest—I will not equivocate—I will not excuse—I will not retreat a single inch, and I will be heard." There are still people in this community who uphold the democratic tradition.*—Barbara Anderson.

Wake up!

The keystone of our American democracy was that those elected to lead the nation were to be servants and the voters their masters. But service was to be an honorable estate, and politics was to be a sweet word, because it denoted a government OF the people.

What is our chaotic picture today? . . . The picture is as disgraceful, as unwholesome and as soul-shuddering as it is a blasphemy against the dreams of the American patriots whose memory we adulate.

And what are the sorry components of this picture? Manufactured wars and the needless bloodshed of our youth. RFC scandals, mink coats, shameless patronage and interlocking political outrages against law and decency. Foreign policies without consistency or direction, without foresight, wisdom or sagacity. Diplomacy which is an eloquent lesson in wrong-way tactics.

. . . We have been naively taken in by tactics of backslappers, promisers, connivers, fixers and those who trade favors with selfish, pressure-pushing minorities. We have fallen for political gangsterism which began with promises of the moon and which is reaching a dizzy climax, with the moon, the stars, the earth and our national self respect being heinously swept away from us.

Wake up, America! While you may justly cry out the bitterness of your discontents, do not lose your grip on the democratic privileges, dearly won, and still inherent in your fundamental rights!

Get busy, Americans. You still have right hands, brains, paper and postage stamps! Write to your representatives in Congress and make your indignation sting the very Capitol dome!

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TO READERS

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You have received—or will receive soon—an extra GUARDIAN, wrapped, with a postpaid subscription envelope and a note from us. The note tells how you can make your extra copy count for our side.

That's all we ask you to do this week —

Please . . . . MAKE IT COUNT!

The Editors

Pentagon in panic over public apathy

(Continued from Page 1)

STOMACHS MEET SPINES: Anti-U.S. sentiment in Britain and Western Europe was "more rife and more outspoken than at any time since 1945," reported the **Wall St. Journal.** The NO ANNIHILATION WITHOUT REPRESENTATION slogan

> **. . . expresses the prevalent fear that Britain will be dragged into World War III by American impetuosity. And that fear is but part of a general mood of resentment against U.S. leadership in the cold war.**

With the wholesale price index up 35% since the Sept., 1949 devaluation, with basic industrial materials more than doubled in price in the last year, and these price increases not yet reflected at retail, the British people face a fall in living standards "such as they have rarely if ever known before" (London **Economist**). The inflation "threatens to disrupt the economy, bring political turmoil" (**Wall St. Journal**).

POLICE CLUB PARIS STUDENTS

They wanted social security

France, where wholesale prices are 30% above 1949 and the price index for imported goods doubled, faces a similar threat. Recent strikes (reminiscent of the great 1936 strikes, said the **New Statesman & Nation**) won only promises of small increases in low wage rates. The N. Y. **Times'** Harold Callender warned from Paris that unless improved living standards accompany rearmament (which he admitted was impossible) France cannot be held in the Western camp:

> **What European workers do know is first that their capitalism keeps them poor and second that the rearmament of the Western world . . . has brought in Europe an inflation that threatens even their low living standards. It is therefore not hard for Communists to argue that capitalism is inimical to the welfare of the workers and that it prepares to attack the Soviet Union where prices go down, not up.**

TOO MANY REDS: Allied authorities found

> **. . . the increase in Communist strength in East Germany . . . disquieting enough under ordinary conditions of a divided Germany, but when as seems likely the whole question of reuniting Germany is about to be reviewed . . . it becomes a matter of more immediate concern (N.Y. Times).**

In West Germany, Communists were expected to gain in the Works Councils elections this month and next "if no counter measures were taken." Unbridled public criticism of the Allies by German officials led many U.S. officials to

> **. . . express in private their own angry doubts that Germans can be integrated on reasonable terms into the Western community (Overseas News Agency).**

In Spain the government arrested 1,000 or more for participation in the great Barcelona strike. The N.Y. **Times** reported that the U.S. loan of $5,000 000 for wheat on the heels of the strike aroused resentment in anti-Franco circles who saw it as designed to bolster Franco's power.

TOO LITTLE WHEAT: But for India there was still no U.S. wheat, four months after that country's plea that if shipments did not arrive by April 1 there would be mass starvation. UP reported "near-famine conditions exist in several states;" in Bihar rations were cut to 7 ounces a week. Meanwhile China promised another 50,000 tons of rice (it had already sent 50,000), and Russia 50,000 tons of wheat.

This put Washington on the "diplomatic defensive," according to the U.S. press. President Truman urged Congress to approve the bill, bottled up in the House Committee, to grant India 1,000,000 tons of wheat. (Congress was demanding uranium-bearing ores and adherence to Washington as the price of U.S. aid).

In the Middle East Iran was "threatened with chaos," in the words of Asst. Secy. of State George McGhee, on tour of that area. A great strike against the Anglo-Iranian Oil Co., begun when it threatened a 30% cut in living allowances, was spreading despite martial law and the appearance of three British warships at the oil port of Abadan. Police and unemployed textile workers clashed south of Teheran where eight textile firms have closed for lack of raw material. "Throw the pirates into the sea! Death to imperialists!" was the cry of workers and strikers.

THE HIDDEN BAYONET: In Korea a stalemate near the 38th Parallel seemed to be developing. A Peking radio broadcast referred to MacArthur's "truce offer" as "not worthy of consideration." Denouncing the MacArthur initiative, India's Nehru said his country's policies would be laid down by its government, not by commanders in the field. UN delegations expressed "their virtually unanimous unhappiness" over MacArthur (**N. Y. Times**). France's **Figaro** called his offer "an olive branch with a bayonet hidden among the leaves."

Washington's draft of a "UN statement of aims" in Korea was still not made public. The British were reported to find it "confusing." Meanwhile Washington went ahead with its plans for a Japanese peace treaty excluding China's participation and probably also Russia's. In an official statement John Foster Dulles offered "a peace of reconciliation" which barred reparations (to the distress of the Philippines), insisted on Japan's rearmament (to the distress of Australia) and put no limit on Japan's industrial capacity (to the distress of Britain). Its key feature: U.S. bases and troops in Japan.

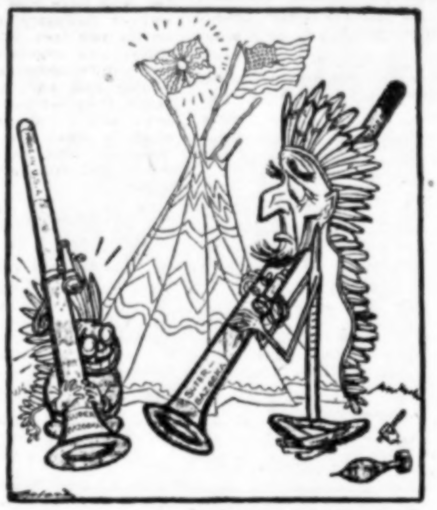
U.S. bids Latin Americans 'sacrifice'

WHEN the foreign ministers of the Americas gathered in Washington last week, U.S. diplomats staked out these objectives for Latin Americas:

- Produce more raw materials for U.S. war production.
- Supply manpower to fill military and industrial gaps as needs arise.

The rest was to be pomp and pep talks. But by the end of the week Washington's program seemed snagged. The Latin-American diplomats wanted as their price: a guarantee of help to industrialize and diversify their economies, now mainly agricultural and limited to a few commodities; and some relief from soaring U.S. prices.

Brazil and Bolivia sponsored resolutions on the inflated prices Latin-Americans must pay for products manufactured from their own raw materials, which the U.S. buys cheap and wants cheaper. To these demands U.S. spokesmen offered little more than a plea for "common" sacrifice.



De Groene Amsterdammer

The U. S. offers Japan its 1951 model peace pipe.

PRICE OF SOLDIERS: Military aims were contained in a U.S. resolution calling on each American state to maintain "elements within its national armed forces . . . for service in support of action taken by the UN." The U.S. simultaneously let it be known it had **$80,000,000** in arms aid ready for all "cooperating" countries.

Colombia, Brazil, Cuba, Paraguay and Uruguay—all "cooperating" countries—co-sponsored the resolution, but in the closed session of the political and military committee it ran into heavy opposition from Argentina, Mexico and Guatemala. Argentina and Mexico reportedly opposed it on grounds that the question of overseas action was out of place in a hemispheric conference. Guatemala's anti-imperialist Dr. Manuel Galich, not a member of the committee, won special permission to speak, added a more political opposition.

Though in the end it might pass with modifications, the resolution could mean little. Not a single Latin-American soldier, except for Puerto Ricans, has been sent to Korea. (See background, p. 5.)

A "Declaration of Washington" condemning the "aggressive activities of international communism" and proclaiming "the essential rights of man" was easily passed. Since it called for no specific implementation against the one or for the other, it met no opposition.

PEACE

Women prefer men jailed than Korea'd

THE Madison, Wisc., **Capital Times** reported March 16 that relatives of Green Bay reformatory prisoners are writing to say they would rather see their sons, husbands and boy friends in jail than in Korea. Bursting with "long pent-up rage and disgust," Circuit Judge Robert S. Cowie wrote to the same paper—which featured the letter on page one:

> **. . . It is absurd to think that a united Europe can ever defeat Russia and her allies on their own territory. For God's sake, won't someone listen to reason and end this crazy notion of sending more of our boys to die in other traps like Korea?**

From Boston University 28 faculty members issued a statement criticizing Gen. MacArthur's "Operation Killer," and calling for "democratic deliberation" for a "saner foreign policy which would concentrate on winning friends for America."

"FOR GOD'S SAKE": Public opinion polls continued around the country. One conducted by the Danville, Ill., **Commercial News** got this result: of 566 who replied, 532 favored withdrawal of troops from Korea, 458 opposed sending troops to Europe. One reply contained this fervent plea:

> **For our sake, your sake and for God's sake, do something.**

Biggest organized movement for peace centered around the newly-formed American Peace Crusade, which followed up its 2,500-strong pilgrimage to Washington March 15 with plans for a People's Congress for Peace in Chicago June 29. Goal: at least 5,000 delegates. Preparations for it will be concentrated on distribution of the Crusade's Peace Ballot, which is already blanketing the country.

In Canada preparations for a National Assembly to Save Peace, to open in Toronto April 7, were in the wind-up stage; Mary Jennison, secretary of the Canadian Peace Congress, said advance registrations indicated "this Assembly has swollen to a size exceeding that of any such gathering ever held in Canada." Main emphasis will be on the World Peace Council's proposal for a peace pact between the U.S., Britain, France, the U.S.S.R. and China.

"IF PEACE GOES . . .": Around the world these were some of the things happening on the peace front:

UN secy.-gen. Trygve Lie agreed to meet with a delegation of the World Peace Council when he goes abroad in the near future.

Cuba's largest weekly magazine conducted a poll on whether Cuba "should fulfill its pledge to the UN requiring shipment of Cuban citizens to fight in Korea." It drew a 70% opposition.

At New Brighton, England, the opening session of the Co-operative Party Conference heard Frank Beswick, parliamentary secy. to the Ministry of Civil Aviation and an observer at the Bikini atom-bomb tests, say:

> **"If peace goes, even the present precarious peace, then everything goes. We seek to make unthinkable the use of present and potential weapons of mass destruction."**

NEW YORK

Local drive urged to nip sales tax rise

NEW YORK CITY's Democratic administration asked for an increase in the sales-tax from 2 to 3%. The Republican state legislature passed a bill authorizing it. Last week Republican Gov. Dewey signed it. The $60,000,000-a-year grab was plain bipartisan.

But the increase to take effect must be approved by the City Council and the Board of Estimate and signed by the mayor. The measure was to be called up before the Council April 2 and voted on April 9, according to City Hall plans.

If this tax goes through, others are reportedly in the works on cars, trucks, restaurant and utility bills. Vito Marcantonio, ALP state chairman, said:

> **"Gov. Dewey has come through for the banking and real estate interests on his half of the Dewey-Impellitteri political deal."**

PICK YOUR MAN: The sales tax rise can be defeated now only by neighborhood pressure, delegations and petitions directly to the councilmen and borough presidents. Here are their addresses:

BOROUGH PRESIDENTS: Manhattan, Robert F. Wagner Jr., 2050 Municipal Building; Brooklyn, John Cashman, 21 Borough Hall; Bronx, James J. Lyons, 851 Grand Concourse; Queens, Maurice Fitzgerald, 120-55 Queens Blvd.; Richmond, Cornelius A. Hall, 120 Borough Hall.

COUNCILMEN: (Numbers refer to councilmanic districts which are the same as state senatorial districts.) **QUEENS** (4) Aloysius Maickel, 99-74 211 St.; (5) Eric Treulich, 107-13 111 St.; (6) Hugh Quinn, 33-09 160 St.; (7) Frank Smith, 48-46 47 St.

BROOKLYN: (8) Joseph Sharkey, 272 Penn St.; (9) Thomas J. Mirabile, 1075 Bushwick Av.; (10) Sam Curtis, 609 Sackman St.; (11) Jack Kranis, 1319 E. 49 St.; (12) Jeremiah Bloom, 100 Woodruff Av.; (13) Arthur Low, 160 5th Av.; (14) Abraham Sussman, 1639 54 St.; (15) Edward Vogel, 502 Av. T; (16) Morris Stein, 257 Coleridge St. **RICHMOND:** (17) Frederick Schick, 55 Wadsworth Rd., Rosebank.

MANHATTAN: (18) Robert Weisberger, 18 Monroe St.; (19) James Boland, 401 W. 24 St.; (20) Stanley Isaacs, 14 E. 96 St.; (21) Earl Brown, 745 St. Nicholas Av.; (22) John Merli, 311 E. 104 St.; (23) Sam Davis, 610 W. 173 St.

BRONX: (24) Irving Schreckinger, 1701 Popham Av.; (25) Charles Keegan, 500 Trinity Av.; (26) Bertha Schwartz, 1361 Fulton Av.; (27) Edward Cunningham, 724 E. 220 St.; (28) Maurice McCarthy, 3250 Perry Av.

IV. WHO WANTS WAR AND WHY?

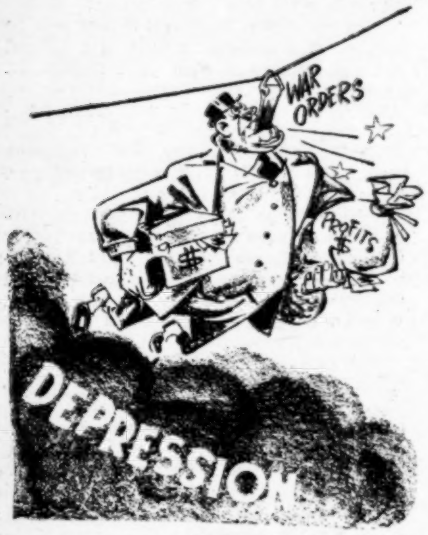
Corporations prefer war to lowering their prices

By Tabitha Petran

IN 1950 the Auto Big Three faced a threat: "overproduction." The normal peace-time market for cars and trucks is about 5,000,000 units a year; the industry had produced 8,000,000. The gap between its capacity to produce and the people's capacity to buy boded recession and falling profits.

1950 was the year when the cold war turned hot in Korea. Auto profits continued to soar. There was a connection. As **Barrons Financial Weekly** reported Jan. 15, the "armament program" had a "stabilizing effect" on the industry by

> . . . keeping it from making more cars than the market can absorb. Production at the 1950 rate could not have been long maintained under any circumstances and would sooner or later have been followed by a letdown. Now, between defense and civilian business, the industry should be kept busy for some years to come.



Drawing by Fred Wright

WHAT MIGHT HAVE BEEN: General Motors' 1950 profits before taxes were $1,811,660,763, representing a take of $4,000 per worker as compared with $2,445 in 1949. GM could have met the "overproduction" threat by lowering prices so more people could buy cars. Lopping $100 off the price of every car, and adding $500 to each of its 460,000 workers' paychecks, **it could still have earned $1,216,324,963—three times its 1944 profits.**

But GM's profit statement frankly admitted that to let prices "fall in periods of high volume . . . would not be desirable nor practical." So much for the capitalist theory that prices fall when production is high. Despite the pleas of liberals, capitalists not being philanthropists reject investing in the raising of living standards at home as a way of bridging the gap between productive capacity and consumption. It isn't profitable enough. It means raising wages and farm income and lowering prices—therefore smaller profits. It means a lot of investment that does not pay off in quick, big profits: schools, hospitals, slum clearance, etc.

IT PAYS: The other alternative for GM and the system it stands for was war. They took it. It is paying off. The company has $3,000,000,000 of war orders to date, representing 40% of annual sales.

U.S. corporations came out of World War II with a tremendous new plant, mostly paid for by the people. So fabulous were World War II profits that they could finance most of their post-war reconversion out of their own funds (instead of depending heavily on stock and bond flotations as in the past), pay high dividends, still have an enormous surplus of capital. Their net working capital at war's end was $50,000,000,000. They had to find some place to invest their capital surpluses and some way to use their new plant, or the system would go into a tailspin and the rate of profit would fall.

The classic outlet—colonial areas where low wages, docile labor, scarcity of capital and cheap raw materials make for a high profit rate—had shrunk to small size through socialist and colonial revolutions after the war. Only Africa remained as a "safe" area for colonial investment.

THE MYTH THEY NEEDED: For capitalism war spells high prices, high profits, and destruction of goods produced and sold so there's no danger of "overproduction." Faced with the terrific drop in this guaranteed market after World War II, U.S. monopoly had an answer. It was most succinctly stated by GE president Wilson, now Mobilization Chief, who in 1944 demanded a permanent war economy, a continuing "three-way partnership" of industry, army and government. An essential phase of this partnership was to have the government underwrite foreign investment and foreign trade—to avoid a repetition of the licking Wall St. took on the foreign bonds and stocks it floated after World War I.

The idea boiled down to a huge WPA for big business through Truman Doctrines, Marshall Plans, ever-growing arms programs. It could be put over only in a war atmosphere. If Russia hadn't existed, U.S. monopoly would have had to invent it, as it did invent the myth of "Russian aggression." The war scares whipped up here every spring since 1946 coincided with domestic jitters over the economy—kept from a downturn only by bigger and bigger government spending for arms and trade subsidies.

Discovery of atomic energy was another factor in the swift move to a new war. Its development for power would scrap the huge capital investment in the power trust and other industries. Only a socialist society could afford to develop atomic power for peace. With its potential of plenty for all, it threatened not only profits but the profit system. So atomic energy had to be directed solely to destruction.

MOVING IN: The big business program could be carried out only if big business directly controlled the government. It had always had its "men in government"; now, reinforced by World War II experience, it had to become decisive in the state apparatus. The unprecedented character of atomic energy, which made the people demand that it be placed under public control, reinforced this necessity. Big business couldn't risk another popular revolution functioning through an FDR. Experience of German and Italian big business with Hitler and Mussolini showed it couldn't risk even that degree of indirect control.

So men from the dominant handful of financial groups—Forrestal, Harriman, Lovett, etc.—moved into all key posts, reversed Roosevelt's policy, got complete control of atomic energy, turned the nation to war, then moved in to run the war program to their own enormous profit.

HEROD & CO.: The heavy predominance of Morgan "men in government" reflects Morgan control in heavy industry, whose ideal program is a war economy. The top government men, Wilson, his counterpart abroad Herod, production chief Harrison, are all top Morgan people. But even relatively minor posts are filled with Morgan, Mellon or Rockefeller men:

> **ALAN VALENTINE**—first head of the Economic Stabilization Administration, a director of Freeport Sulphur (Whitney family, formerly associated with Rockefeller, now closed to Morgan), which with the Morgan-Mellon Texas Gulf Sulphur accounts for 90% of capitalist world output of sulphur, one of three basic items in chemical industry. ECA money financed sulphur sales to Britain and Western Europe in past three years; U.S. control of sulphur now being used to bludgeon Britain diplomatically.
>
> **ERIC JOHNSTON**—an "upstart" for big finance; became prominent as president of Chamber of Commerce and Motion Picture Producers Assn., then made director of Morgan's United Air Lines and Giannini's Bank of America.
>
> **JAMES F. BROWNLEE**—Johnston's deputy, director of the Goldman Sachs-Morgan Pillsbury Mills, Bank of Manhattan (Kuhn Loeb), Macy's (Goldman Sachs-Lehman Bros.).
>
> **RAYMOND G. FISHER**—ODM's Chief of Statistics, on loan from his regular post as economist for the Rockefeller family in N.Y.
>
> **HARRY K. CLARK**—vice-chairman of the Munitions Board, president of Mellon's Carborundum Co. **ROSCOE SEYBOLD**—also Munitions Board v.-c., vice-pres. of Westinghouse (Mellon, Rockefeller, Kuhn Loeb). **RICHARD S. REYNOLDS**—head of Munitions Board Advisory Committee, president of Reynolds Metals.
>
> **E. G. PLOWMAN**—in charge of defense transportation on leave from Morgan's U.S. Steel Co.

STOP SWALLOWING: The big business character of the war program has stirred protests even from right-wing labor leaders who have been its most ardent supporters. But their protests against Wilson, against rising prices, and so on, are against symptoms, not causes.

They will remain ineffectual so long as labor swallows not only the war program but the drive for profits behind it; not only the war, but the system that produces it.

And what was YOUR net?

GENERAL MOTORS profits soared 560% 1945-9, another 60% 1949-50. Here is the story in figures of some of the other major war profiteers:

STEEL & ALLIED INDUSTRIES	Increase 1945-9	Increase 1949-50
U. S. Steel (Morgan)	230%	23%
Bethlehem (Mellon-Rockefeller)	260%	40%
Republic (indirectly Rockefeller)	215%	76%
Carborundum Co. Mellon)	95% loss	537%
ALUMINUM		
Alcoa (Mellon)	60%	61%
COPPER		
Anaconda (Morgan)	28%	30%
Kennecott (Morgan)	93%	90%
Phelps Dodge (Morgan)	188%	36%
CHEMICALS, ETC.*		
Dupont	110%	50%
Allied Chem. & Dye (Morgan-Rockefeller)	83%	23%
Dow (Morgan)	89%	23% (6 mos.)
Monsanto (Morgan)	72%	91%
Atlas Powder (Dupont)	180% loss	114%
AIRCRAFT		
United Aircraft (Morgan)	40% loss	83%
Curtiss Wright (Morgan orbit)	95% loss	215%
Consolidated Vultee (Floyd Odlum)	84% loss	152%

NOTE: "Hot war" profits are not fully reflected in 1950 figures: effect of Korean war showed up in 1950's second half when profits jumped to $47,200,000,000 annual rate from $33,000,000,000 in first half.

**Morgan, which dominates steel, copper, electrical machinery and rubber, co-dominates chemicals with Dupont since the present Duponts in 1915 borrowed $8,000,000,000 from J. P. Morgan to buy out the then president T. Coleman Dupont. Morgan director Alfred P. Sloan is a director of Dupont and board chairman of the Dupont-Morgan General Motors. After the Justice Dept. in 1944 charged Dupont, I. G. Farben and British Imperial Chemical Industries with setting up a world cartel, Dupont turned over to Mellon (rather than Morgan) its ICI interests here. At about the same time Morgan bought into Olin Industries Inc., munitions firm, thus entering a field hitherto dominated by Dupont's Hercules Powder and Atlas Powder. Dupont also owns Remington Arms.*

DiSalle controls prices up again

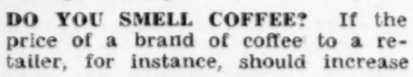
By John B. Stone
GUARDIAN staff correspondent

WASHINGTON

PROSPECTS of steadily mounting food prices increased last week as the nation's consumers began to realize the full import of Price Stabilizer Michael V. DiSalle's new regulations extending the "magic margin" formula to 60% of food purchased at retail.

Effect of the new regulations will be to pyramid soaring original costs. The new markup regulations allow wholesalers and retailers to increase their dollar profits by passing on percentage markups.

DO YOU SMELL COFFEE? If the price of a brand of coffee to a retailer, for instance, should increase from 80c to $1, he will not be forced to restrain his profit-taking by increasing his prices only 20c. Instead he can apply his markup of 17% to the new cost. Thus the price of coffee to the consumer, which was 93.6c when it cost the retailer 80c, will be increased to $1.17. If the profit were limited to dollars-and-cents increases, the consumer would pay $1.13.



Food Prices Go Up Under New 'Controls'

N. Y. Post, March 29, 1951

The new Office of Price Stabilization regulations make an outright gift of millions of dollars in profits to the monopoly-controlled chain stores. Small stores were willing, the OPS said, to abide by the margins OPA allowed them late in World War II.

"The chain stores and supermarkets, however, have insisted that the OPA markups would be inadequate," the OPS said. So it upped even the percentage take of the chain stores.

DOLLAR EARNINGS SOAR: The concession to the profiteers was made despite an OPS study which showed that the size and volume of the stores have increased tremendously since World War II and their profits have skyrocketed since Korea. It reported:

> In 1950 the sales of chain stores increased over 1949 by approximately 6%, mainly during the last half of the year. However, dollar earnings for the same stores increased by over 82%.

The regulations also contain escape clauses whereby wholesalers and retailers can force margin increases and price boosts by creating artificial shortages. If a shortage exists in any given area, the stores can get their margins increased.

OPS admitted that dollar-and-cents price ceilings would be better and talked vaguely about establishing them some time in the future. Only concrete hope for such a plan lies in passage by Congress of new legislation either authorizing cost-of-living subsidies on goods or setting farm commodities under controls regardless of parity.

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THE FACTS BEHIND THE AMERICAN MINISTERS' CONFERENCE

Latin America: vast colony milked by U.S.

United Nations photo

YAWS: THE SCOURGE OF HAITI'S RURAL AREAS
UN's World Health Organization seeks to wipe out the flesh-rotting disease.

By Elmer Bendiner

"The aggressive expansion of Soviet power threatens the whole world. . . . We shall have to increase the production of strategic materials. We shall have to divert manufacturing capacity to defense purposes."

President Truman, addressing the foreign ministers of the Americas in Washington last week.

"Millions of people are not alarmed at the spread of communism. Their overriding and immediate concern is to survive."

Hernan Santa Cruz, Chile's UN delegate.

THE views of Truman and Santa Cruz sum up the great American hemispheric debate. They define the gulf between the U.S. and the rest of the Americas. It is as wide as any gulf separating a great power from her colonies.

How wide that gulf is may be seen in the answers to four questions:

- How do Latin Americans live?
- Where do the profits of their labor go?
- How do they react to the Korean war?
- What is their future?

The people

Dr. Federico Gomez of the UN's World Health Organization said last year that "chronic hunger in Latin America has affected about 70% of the people." Two thirds of all Latin Americans are undernourished. Half are afflicted with some illness.

In Chile nearly half the children die before they are nine. In Rio de Janeiro, Brazil, half of the men who live long enough to go to work die before they are 29. Latin Americans in some parts can expect to live 47 years, in others such as Peru only 32. In the U. S., life expectancy for whites is 65.

It is not the climate; it is poverty. The poverty gets worse. While wages have risen little since 1937 (average income of the Latin American is $145 a year, one-tenth that of the U.S. American), prices have skyrocketed 400%. In 1949-50 alone the cost of living rose 55.6% in Asuncion; 28.4% in San Salvador; 27% in Bogota.

The profits

Peter Kihss, in the New York **Herald Tribune,** wrote that Latin American countries "live at the mercy of foreign demand for products."

Most of these countries have only a few main exports so that, according to **Latin American Facts,**

> . . . a sharp decline in the export market for any one of these commodities is usually enough to throw their economies into a state of chaos.

The power that can buy or refuse to buy those commodities, cannot but control the economy of each Latin American country. The single largest power wielding that whip is the U.S. And each year its control tightens.

Colombia for example, has increased its exports to U.S. from 57% of its export total in 1937 to 81% in 1949; Guatemala, from 63% to 92%; Bolivia, from 6% to 63%; Brazil, from 36% to 50%. Argentina is the only large Latin-American country which sends a smaller percentage of its exports to U.S. than formerly. (U.S. hostility is based not on Peron's dictatorship, in some ways less onerous than that of many U.S. friends in Latin America, but on Argentina's comparatively smaller economic dependence on the U.S.)

HOW TO COLONIZE: Trade is one way in which a power controls her colonies. Investment of capital is another. In 1948 alone, according to the State Dept., U.S. big business (represented by a handful of large companies) invested $318,000,000 in Latin America. They took out in that year an estimated $997,000,000.

A great colonizing power can afford to send her colonies anything but the wherewithal for their own industry—for industry is a forerunner of freedom. Latin American products—tin, silver, wool, hides, coffee, bananas, oil, lumber, nitrates, tobacco, rice, sugar, copper, meat—are all raw materials, most of which must be processed in the mother country and sold back as finished goods.

There lies the great issue between Latin America and the U. S. It is one of the largest issues before the American foreign ministers' conference in Washington. Latin American businessmen know their profits are limited so long as they must act as the field agents of U.S. businessmen. In their clamor for industrial machinery they are united with the working people in their countries.

INDIGESTIBLE GOLD: In World War II Latin Americans learned a sobering lesson. They supplied the raw materials for the arsenals of the U.S. They wanted machinery in exchange; instead they were given cash with nothing to spend it on but a ruinous inflation.

Joao Neves de Fontoura, foreign minister of Brazil, told the Hemispheric Conference that Latin America found itself in a position like "that of Pizzarro who when he asked the Incas for food was served only gold, which does not feed."

Now, with the U.S. again preparing for war, again demanding raw materials for its factories, Latin American businessmen are prepared to bargain. Their price is machinery. And U.S. businessmen must weigh the cost, knowing machinery leads to freedom.

The war

U.S. businessmen must also judge the ability of their Latin-American field agents to deliver their peoples to the war effort.

The mobilization call went out to Latin America as soon as U.S. troops entered Korea. The response, said Chile's Hernan Santa Cruz, was limited by the "lack of will of the population."

That "lack of will" was demonstrated this way:

- One day after Argentina's Peron pledged his nation's support, 50,000 workers paraded through Rosario City with anti-war placards. Peron later explained to his people that he meant moral and material, not military aid.
- When Brazil's dictator Vargas offered the U.S. his support, the Club Militar (influential army officers' club) revealed a majority of its members vehemently opposed to the war. (The president of the club, Gen. Estillac-Real, who publicized the poll, is now War Minister; his successor, Gen. Barbossa, is even more openly anti-U.S.) Vargas, like Peron, explained in postscript fashion that his support would be non-military.
- When Cuba made the modest offer of one infantry company for Korea, there was a mutiny at La Cabana Fortress in Havana, according to the Havana daily, **Alerta.** (Officially denied, the story was later documented by **Alerta's** editor, former labor minister Ramon Vasconcelos.) Two army officers were dismissed.
- Ten million Latin Americans signed the Stockholm peace petition.
- In Guatemala, the only Latin-American country in which progressives have a voice in the government, outgoing President Jose Arevalo likened "contemporary western democracy" with Hitlerism which had been "racist, an enemy of the sovereignty of other nations, anti-democratic and anti-communist." Col. Arbenz Guzman, Arevalo's successor, said as he took the Presidential sash of office:

> "War would signify for Guatemala the end of all our efforts for a people's well-being and national economic development. In this sense we will applaud whatever effort is made by the leaders of the great powers to maintain international cordiality and co-existence in a peaceful world."

STRIKES AND MARCHES: Economically, too, Latin Americans demonstrated their resistance.

Last September the miners in Chihuahua, Mexico, struck two subsidiaries of the American Smelting and Refining Co. (Guggenheim-Morgan-Rockefeller-controlled). The government froze the union's funds, closed down its cooperatives and union halls.

On Jan. 20, 4,000 of them started to walk to Mexico City, 850 miles away. They slept in the open on freezing ground. One of the 40 women in the caravan gave birth to a baby under a bridge en route. They reached Mexico City on March 15 where they were joined by thousands of other unionists in a great parade to the capitol and under the President's balcony they shouted for "Justicia."

Chile, where strikes are banned, is undergoing a wave of strikes by miners, textile workers, highway workers, welfare workers, railwaymen, seamen, white collar workers.

The future

In the midst of such troubles U.S. businessmen saw a specter in their colonies and stoutly refused to believe it. In the Presidential Casa Rosada Peron told newsmen that Argentina had developed a method of harnessing atomic energy cheaply and out of materials abundantly found in Latin America. Argentina, said Peron,

> ". . . is firmly resolved to produce it and employ it solely for power plants, smelters and other industrial establishments."

It would have been far less menacing to U.S. big business if he had said it would be used to make bombs. For, if atomic energy can be harnessed by Latin Americans, applied by them to their own industry without the benefit and the control of U.S. capital, then the U.S. will indeed have lost its major monopolized source of raw materials, its prime monopolized market—in short, its captive continent.

Latin America, by an industrial revolution, could then grow quickly from a string of feudal colonies into a continent of young independent powers.

1776 ALL OVER: U.S. scientists were skeptical; some ridiculed Peron's claim. But whether the growth is speeded by atomic energy or assumes the long, toilsome pace of colonial revolutions everywhere, the shape of Latin America in years to come is clear. It was stated by Guatemala's President Arbenz Guzman at his inauguration. He listed three objectives for his government:

> "Convert our country from a dependent nation with a semi-colonial economy into an economically independent country; convert Guatemala from a backward country with a predominantly feudal economy into a modern capitalist country; and carry through this transformation in a form that would bring the highest possible increase in the living standards of the great masses of the people."

After nearly two centuries, the American revolution begins to spread throughout the Americas.

WHEN CHILEANS PROTESTED HIGH PRICES IN 1949
Police fire on students and strikers protesting bus fare rise.

THE DEATH RATTLE OF IMPERIALISM

Asia: Half of humanity breaks its bonds

United Nations photo

A LOOK INTO THE FUTURE
The Indonesian farmer knows imperialism is on the way out

"There will be no third world war. The revolt of colonial peoples throughout the world will frustrate the war plans of the imperialist powers."

Chou En-Lai, Foreign Minister of China.

IN Asia more than half the human race is standing up to take its destiny into its own hands. This is true not only in China, where liberation is already a fact, but in every country. For each country has a liberation movement and a labor, peasant, women's, student movement, merging into the general revolution of Asia. Victory in China, heralding revolutionary victory throughout all Asia, is convulsing the capitalist world. Imperialism, rocked by this convulsion, finds it ever harder to launch its war against socialism.

The U. S., once proud of its anti-colonial tradition, as late as World War II promised colonial peoples freedom. Today it is the chief prop of the French and British colonial empires in Asia. The N. Y. **Times,** May 20, 1950, explained:

> As Britain and France are the U.S.'s chief allies in the defense of the Western world and loss of these rich and strategic Southeast Asian areas might be disastrous to them, the U.S. government is said to feel that logically it should contribute to their defense.

WORTH DEFENDING: In "defending" these areas, the U. S. is appropriating their riches. Southeast Asia is the source of 60% of the world's tin, 96% of its rubber. Malayan tin, one third of world supply, the tin of Burma and Thailand, are owned largely by British interests, but these are tied through interlocking directorates and holding companies to metal companies into which U. S. interests have recently shouldered their way. (And these companies in turn are linked to the fabulous Union Miniere du Haut Katanga, the copper and uranium mines of the Belgian Congo into which Morgan and Rockefeller recently bought. Union Miniere is also interested in tin smelting.)

Malaya's imports of U. S. goods are now 8 times pre-war. Its tin and rubber, 86% of its exports, now go almost exclusively to this country. Its 1949 tin and rubber exports to the U. S. exceeded Britain's total exports to the U. S. U. S. stockpiling and the Korean war sent the price of tin from 79c a lb. in 1949 to almost $2 a lb. in Feb. 1951 (World War II price: 52c). Tin and rubber (rubber went from 18c in 1949 to 79c last Feb.) made Malaya tne chief dollar-earner of the British empire; filled the pockets of the international metal and rubber trusts; brought the Malayan worker not an adequate wage increase but intensification of the war and terror against his liberation movement.

ASIAN LOOT: The Malayan picture is repeated in other countries. Burma's lead and silver is owned by Anglo-U. S. interests, its oil and cement by British financiers. U. S. investments in Indonesia climbed from 5% of all foreign investments before the war to about 40% today. U. S. Rubber (Dupont-Morgan-Kuhn Loeb) owns plantations in Indonesia and Malaya; Goodyear (Morgan orbit) in Indonesia. A 1948 trade agreement gives the U. S. the upper hand in Indonesia's trade. Morgan's Anaconda Copper is prospecting Thailand's mineral resources; Morgan's GE, its hydroelectric power resources. A Thailand-American company owns Thailand's forests and many other natural resources.

BURMESE YOUTHS IN THE ARMY OF LIBERATION
Even in a serious task there's time for fun

Control of these riches is the aim of U. S. policy in Asia, including its intervention in Korea. In the House of Commons recently Tory MP L. D. Gammans complained that

> ". . . the Americans did not always realize that for three years we have been fighting in Malaya exactly the same enemy as they were fighting in Korea."

"THE ENEMY": The American people may not have realized it, but U. S. as well as British imperialists recognize the identity of "the enemy" and realize that if they are booted out of Korea, imperialism is finished in Asia.

These are the "enemies" of the imperialists in Southeast Asia:

Malaya

The people of Malaya (2,600,000 Chinese, 2,500,000 Malayans, 600,000 Indians) "are bred today in conditions of want, disease, ignorance, squalor and idleness" (London **New Statesman & Nation**). The British started shooting in June, 1948, when "emergency measures" to suppress rubber and tin strikes drove many in guerrilla bands into the jungle. Labor MP S. Awberry, who spoke with Malayan union leaders in Feb., 1948, recently told Commons:

> "These men were demanding three things—a higher standard of living for the working people of Malaya, self-government, and a compulsory system of education throughout that country. They could not achieve what they wanted and they went on strike. There is little difference between a strike and the war in the jungle."

The British, who claim only 5,000 are in revolt, forcibly deported more than 35,000 Chinese (China has protested the murder and persecution of Chinese in Malaya and demanded a Red Cross investigation). The Dept. of Prisons reported in October:

> The number of prisoners is continually increasing and this has become a grave question . . . altogether 15,384 persons were sent to prison last year.

Concentration camps in Malaya are overflowing. In March the British announced they were leasing an island off North Borneo for internment of "hopeless cases" among "suspected Communists."

THIS IS THE WAR: In the tradition of the Nazis at Lidice, the entire town of Jenderam in Selangor was recently obliterated as an example to other communities which helped the guerrillas. The "Briggs Plan"—an inspiration of Sir Harold Briggs, British Commander in Malaya—calls for the razing of hundreds of communities and resettlement in the towns of hundreds of thousands of artisans and peasants living along the edges of the jungle—because they have helped supply the liberation movement. Official figures admit 120,000 Malayans have already been uprooted, herded into camps.

Tory MP Ian Harvey, member of a parliamentary delegation recently returned from Malaya, reported that the Briggs Plan is creating revolutionaries faster than it is destroying them and that continuation of the policy means loss of all Malaya. The liberation movement recently reported the revolutionary temper of Malayan towns heightened and the growth of unity among the people growing apace.

Singapore police this month were given "shoot to kill" orders against "Red arsonists in the city streets," and senior boys in British public schools were armed with rubber truncheons for use on "junior Reds."

Burma

Burma was declared "independent" of Britain Jan. 4, 1948: the treaty left its economy in British hands, its policy under direction of a British military mission. In March, 1948, some 200,000 peasants demonstrated in Pyinmana against the treaty and 10,000 workers struck in Rangoon. The Thakin Nu government suppressed the strikes and demonstrations with military force, conducted nation-wide arrests of trade unionists. All over the country the people organized in guerrilla bands and began to fight the terror.

In four months 3,000 arms were captured for the liberation army, to whose **Land to the Tiller** banner the peasants flocked in rural areas. In six months fighting spread to 26 of Burma's districts; some 20,000 people were arrested by the government. A united front of small merchants, shopkeepers, government employes, workers and peasants came gradually into being.

HALF A NATION: In 1949 a British attempt to divert the liberation movement by provoking an uprising of Karen nationalists was unsuccessful. Today the revolutionary forces control half the country with a population of over 6,000,000. In the liberated areas a government by the People's Democratic Front is functioning, land has been distributed, a no-rent campaign carried out, interest rates reduced, big fisheries taken over by the government and run as cooperatives, free compulsory education established. A literacy campaign is being conducted in the army, the national language is in wide use and a people's militia has been organized.

In 1950 the Thakin Nu government, buttressed by U. S. arms and a U. S. loan, launched an all-out offensive against liberated areas with some local successes.

The Liberation Army has set a goal of achieving peace and freedom in Burma within two years. (Even Bur-

1,000,000 DEAD KOREANS

East and West: Eyewitnesses see only one thing—horror

Now in its 40th week, the "police action" in Korea has already earned itself a place in history comparable with Hitler's invasions of Poland and Russia, measured by the ruthlessness and extent of its destruction of lives and property. Che Den Zuk, Korean delegate to the Women's Intl. Democratic Fedn. meeting [illegible] Berlin last February, from whose report on the war through Korean eyes [illegible] excerpt below, stated that 1,000,000 Koreans including 200,000 women and children had been killed, and "all the factories, schools, universities, hospitals and cultural centers built by the blood and sweat of the people were completely wiped out." With names, dates and places she accused the Americans of unbridled torture and rape on a Hitlerian scale. This is the holocaust which sickened American POW's (see below) entreat the people back home to halt.

The war through Korean eyes—from Che Den Zuk's report:

ONE who has not seen with his own eyes the mountains of dismembered bodies, and all the results of the Americans' barbaric behavior, will have difficulty in realizing the extent of these atrocities.

In the course of five years' American occupation of South Korea, 600,000 people were thrown into prison and 300,000 murdered. These figures are exact and can be proved.

On Dec. 3 and 4, 1950, before abandoning Pyongyang, the invaders ordered the inhabitants to leave the town, on pain of reprisals; as the last ones crossed the river, machine gunners opened fire on them from the opposite bank. In this way they murdered 4,000 old people, women and children. On this day the waters of the river were red with blood.

According to incomplete reports published by the invaders, the air force has made more than 100,000 flights and dropped hundreds of thousands of tons of bombs. In one single day, January 14, 1951, 750 planes took part in one air raid.

It is hard to find words to describe the destruction of our towns and villages. Only a madman could try to find a certain street in a town by a map. Where formerly were work-shops and homes you now see nothing but huge bomb-craters under which are buried the bodies of our brothers and sisters. The constant raids have even changed the outlines of our hills. The riverbeds have been shifted.

Women and children who miraculously escape the bombs are threatened by starvation. They have no homes, no clothes and no food. They wander starving about the snow-covered hills and fields, shivering and full of burning hatred of their destroyers. These days one finds everywhere women who have gone mad and who wander about looking for their murdered children.

American friends! You cannot escape the responsibility for the murder of completely innocent people. It is your sons and your husbands who are committing these deeds. Fight harder against the sending of your sons and husbands to Korea! You can only assure your children's future happiness when you steadfastly fight for the cause of peace!

This is the war as seen through Western eyes—Charles Favrel, correspondent of the conservative Paris Le Monde, *and Phillippe Daudy of the conservative* L'Aurore. *First Favrel:*

ALONG 200 killometres of front, Korea burns, village by village, house by house.

No peace will ever efface the look of agony of these executed, who lie down in the snow to die without speaking. For this look of pathetic grandeur is that which the sacrificed beast offers up to his executioner. Leaning over the stiffened corpses, I have seen this look, more poignant than a look of hate, in all these dead eyes, in which the ice has preserved the soul—these dead eyes remained open in order to watch passing, those who have killed them.

It is necessary to have seen these heroic mothers, a baby on the back, a child in each arm, plunging up to the waist in the frozen water of the rivers and pursuing without faltering this slow trudging which led straight to the final fall where death gathered the whole brood in bulk.

It is necessary to have seen these skeletal tots begging, with hands joined, the derisive candy that a sensitive fighter throws them like a bone to a dog.

And Daudy:

I CAN trust Colonel Williams. He was talking to me, over the inter-com, to tell me that everything was going very well and that "it's going to be real fun." I am sure, for my part, that he, at least, would be very amused. . . .

We are above Inchon. As on a well-made plan, the streets are laid out before our eyes, and the houses appear to be models. But suddenly the plan explodes. A silver flash shines several hundred meters below us. It is one of the fellows of our flight who divebombed it. Our plane, as if seized with madness, in its turn dives into the turbulent vortex. The roof which is approaching, the street which jumps into my face, the door which I distinguish with saddening clarity, the abandoned cart. . . . It is impossible, I want to cry out. But the plane is vibrating. The pilot has put his machine guns into action. And all is very quickly in the distance. . . . A convulsive trembling seizes me, and I hear, as in a grotesque nightmare, a voice which says to me in the ear phone, "Nice show"—with a laugh whose sad echo whirls in my head. For one hour more this game of destruction continues. It is amusing.

The houses explode. The streets disappear in the smoke. It is amusing. I am going to vomit.

The Madonna—by MacArthur

A South Korean mother nurses her child amid the ruins of the South Korean capital city of Seoul, not knowing what their life will be when the sun sets.

New letters from POW's in Korea

Families all over the U.S. are now beginning to get word from sons, fathers and husbands reported "missing", sometimes given up for dead but actually safe and sound as prisoners of Chinese forces in North Korea. Many names appeared in the GUARDIAN's roundup of POW news (March 7). Here are more names and addresses, together with some extracts from typical letters, received from John W. Powell, American editor of the Shanghai China Monthly Review. *(GUARDIAN readers who are neighbors of persons listed would do a kind deed by calling this to their attention):*

Tommy Thomas to his mother, 2,200 Love Groce Av., San Pablo, Calif.: "Mom, war is no good and there is no way to picture it other than merciless slaughter of a heck of a lot of young kids just because of a group of greedy money makers. . . . I hear that mothers are making quite a fuss over their sons in Korea. I hope you are one of them."

"John" to his father John Lavelle, 52 Lincoln Pl., Brooklyn 17, N.Y.: "They are treating me wonderful. . . . I only hope you and all the rest of Americans could do something to have the UN stop this damn war."

Joseph Gantt to his wife, 1190 E. 50th St., Los Angeles 11, Calif.: "The Chinese are wonderful people. . . . The harder you and your friends work, the sooner we will be home."

George Hancock, RA 13309076, to Mr. and Mrs. George Hancock, Hegins Rd., Berbe (Berne?), Pa.: "I guess I'll be coming home as soon as people in the States rise up and tell Congress what they think of this foolishness in Korea."

Pat de Beneditte to his mother, 358 Jersey St., Staten Island, N.Y.: "I've gotten good medical treatment and my wounded shoulder is almost healed up. . . . We prisoners have signed a peace proposal. You people at home should do the same. Get together back home. Let's go. Make some kind of organization up. Wake up back there!"

Pvt. I. K. Slavers to his mother, Rt. 2, Box 363, St. Helena, Calif.

Tommy Bean to his family, 1819 Riverside Rd., Reading, Pa.

Joseph Preola to his mother, Mrs. Cruise, 140 Hobart Av., Bayonne, N.J.

From "Son" to the Nissle family, 375 W. 67th St., Jacksonville, Fla.

Cpl. Albert Dixon, RA 34063680, to his wife at P.O. Box 203, Manchester, Ga., or 512 Oconhee St., Manchester.

Capt. Stephen T. Uurtamo to his wife, 733 Washington St., Allentown, Pa.

M/Sgt. Bruno Bevivino, RA 6977339, to his wife, 902 S. 109th St., Tacoma, Wash.

Don Treagus to his parents, 34 Hawthorn Rd., Bognor Regis, Sussex, England.

Sgt. Stanley F. Bartholomew to his wife at Gen. Delivery, American Lake Gdns., Tacoma, Wash.

M/Sgt. J. E. Overend to Mrs. Teresea Overend, 539 Newark Av., Jersey City, N.J.

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ma's U.S.- and British-supported government, it should be noted, has recognized New China and was a member of the Arab-Asian bloc which sought to effect peace in Korea.)

Thailand

Wartime resistance leader Nai Pridi Phanomyong, who became premier in 1945, was overthrown in Nov. 1947 by an armed coup led by Marshal Pibul Songgram, with behind-the-scenes American help. Pridi and his Popular Party, said the London **Times** (Oct. 6, 1948), were guilty of "hasty democrati[illegible]tion of the Siamese Constitution." Pridi went into exile; Songgram, wartime collaborator with the Japanese, established a brutal dictatorship and let his country become a virtual American colony: 70 U.S. concerns operate there now, as compared to one before the war. A U.S. military mission is training its army and U.S. loans are [illegible]orting its government.

The 4,000,000 Chinese in Thailand have been victims of police brutality and terror. A UNESCO mission last fall found two-thirds of the population illiterate, and only one child in four getting as far as the 4th grade in school. In Oct., 1950, the Communist Party called for a united front against the imperialists and support for the united front is growing—especially among all classes of Chinese and the 700,000 Malayans in the South. But the resistance movement has yet to become a real force.

Indo-China

The problem for France, wrote Alexander Werth in the London **New Statesman & Nation** recently, "is no longer to reconquer Indo-China but merely to hang on." Last November unity was established between Ho Chi Minh's liberation movement in Viet Nam and similar, but less advanced, movements in Laos and Cambodia, the other two nations of Indo-China.

In Viet Nam itself the Lienviet (National Union League) and the Vietminh (the Independence League) were this month merged into a single United Front of Vietnam. This followed on sensational People's Army victories along the northern frontier last winter and less publicized but equally important victories in the midland delta region more recently. In the N.Y. **Times** (Jan. 10) Hanson Baldwin called U.S.-French prospects in Indo-China "dim."

THE TRENTON SIX

Defense stymied in attempt to bar 'voluntary confessions'

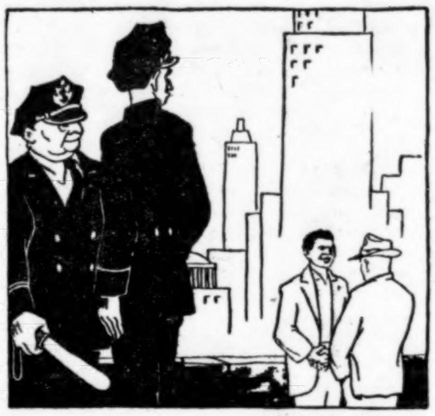
By William A. Reuben
GUARDIAN special correspondent

ON Monday, March 26, Judge Ralph J. Smalley excused the jury and spent the rest of the week in the trial of the Trenton Six listening to six police officers present the state's "solution" three years ago to the murder of William Horner.

According to the police these are the circumstances which led five of the defendants to "confess."

On Feb. 6, 1948, Collis English was arrested at 8:30 p.m. in the living room of his mother's home. The complaint, lodged earlier that day by English's estranged father, was using an automobile without the owner's consent. A half hour after his arrival at the police station, Collis English admitted, the police said, that his father's car, a black two-door Ford, was used in the robbery-slaying.

THE ARRESTS: English did not at first implicate himself, the police said, but named several other Negroes. Ralph Cooper and Horace Wilson were arrested at dawn the next day in Robbinsville, 10 miles from Trenton. McKinley Forrest, English's brother-in-law, was arrested the same day at the police station when he came there with keys to the Ford and asked to see English; James Thorpe that afternoon; John MacKenzie the following Wednesday.



Ogonyok, Moscow

"If you see any whites mixing with blacks, treat them as reds."

At a midnight ceremony Feb. 10, witnessed by eight police officials and several "disinterested civilians," Thorpe, English, Forrest and Cooper signed typewritten "confessions." MacKenzie signed Feb. 12. Wilson never did. The cops said two doctors were present, examined all defendants, found no evidence of maltreatment. Use of force, threats, promises or coercion was denied.

UNANSWERED: In cross-examination defense asked many telling questions which were objected to by the state. The judge upheld the objections. The questions concerned:

- The "reign of terror" against Negroes in Trenton following the murder and the number of Negroes arrested during the investigation.
- Pressure on the police and hysteria engendered by Trenton newspapers.
- Contradictions between the defendants' statements and police information about the crime (GUARDIAN, March 28).
- Failure of police to check the defendants' alibis until after the arraignment.
- Activities of a special "Crime Crushers" squad, formed four days after the murder, armed with tommy-guns, ordered to arrest any "suspicious-looking person on the streets after dark" and to "shoot to kill."
- Disposition of a sodium amytal capsule left at the police station by a doctor called in to examine Forrest.
- Details concerning cigarettes which the cops gave the defendants (after taking away their own).
- Reasons for summoning "disinterested witnesses" to observe the signing of the "confessions."
- Possible significance of the fact that a doctor present at the signing was appointed a week later to a city job.

Prosecutor Volpe charged the defense with attempting to "bring color into this case." He said:

> "We never inject the racial element in any cases in New Jersey, and I think we have been successful in keeping it out of this one up to now."

Hamstrung defense lawyers at the end of the week were unwilling to express any hope that the judge would throw out the "confessions."

JOSEPHINE BAKER'S PLEDGE: Breaking into a five-shows-a-day schedule in Philadelphia, the internationally celebrated entertainer Josephine Baker paid a hurried visit to the courtroom. When she left she told reporters:

> "I will do anything and everything I can [for the Trenton Six]. The eyes of the world are watching this sort of thing. It must be stopped."

FREEDOMS

McGee awaits date as protests pile in

THE State of Mississippi has 30 days from March 26 in which to set a new execution date for Willie McGee, Negro sentenced for "rape" whose appeal was rejected last week for the fourth time by the Supreme Court. By Monday no date had been set.

Around the nation and the world the protest movement against McGee's execution increased. Some 5,000 persons demonstrated in New York's Times Square. For an hour picket-lines reformed after being ridden into by mounted cops. From a seventh-floor window of the Hotel Astor a huge banner demanding McGee's freedom fluttered. Leaflets blanketed the square from windows high in the Paramount Building. Seven persons were arrested.

1,000,000 PETITIONS: The Civil Rights Congress announced a goal of 1,000,000 telegrams and letters to the President in the next 30 days demanding his intervention. During the week 100 pickets marched around the headquarters of the Democratic National Committee in New York. The Trade Union Committee to Save Willie McGee announced its own 30-day drive with a mass rally at New York's St. Nicholas Arena April 16.

The National Lawyers Guild, headed by Thomas I. Emerson, professor of law at Yale, petitioned Mississippi's Gov. Fielding Wright for a conference with leading attorneys to discuss the case. A delegation of 12 white women, many of them southerners, was still touring the state; from Nobel prize-winning novelist William Faulkner they got a statement that the case is an "outrage" and that McGee should be freed. Professors of the University of Mississippi were also sympathetic. But the governor refused to see the women.

UN ASKED TO ACT: The UN Commission on Human Rights received a petition on the case from the Harlem CRC, which said it would send a delegation to the UN if it received no response. In Wisconsin four state legislators appealed to Truman after talking to Mrs. Rosalee McGee, wife of the condemned man.

Among trade unions acting on the case were San Diego, Calif., fish canners, and the 20,000-strong Gary, Ind., local of the United Steel Workers.

Walter White, executive secretary of the NAACP, wrote Gov. Wright:

> In the minds of millions in this country and abroad, McGee's guilt has not been established.

Actions abroad included a petition to Truman, first signature on which was the Dean of Manchester's. In Dublin 500 persons signed.

Parks opens new kleig-lit auto-da-fe

THE big show starts April 10, when the Un-American Activities Committee will start questioning some 40 Hollywood actors, writers, directors on their "subversive activities." The curtain-raiser came on March 21 when Larry Parks (**The Jolson Story**), Gale Sondergaard (first winner of an Academy Oscar) and Howard da Silva (**Lost Week-end**) took the stand. Sondergaard and da Silva refused to answer questions on the constitutional grounds that they could not be forced to incriminate themselves. What that did to their screen careers was indicated in **Variety**, show business journal

> The industry's "Waldorf" policy — named because it was set at a meeting company toppers at the Waldorf-Astoria, N. Y., in 1947—definitely eliminated from film jobs anyone who balked at answering the "Are-you-a-Communist" query.

Parks talked. He said he had "drifted" into the Communist Party in 1941, "drifted" out in 1945. He begged the committee to spare him from becoming a stool-pigeon, but finally behind closed doors named "about a dozen" of his associates as Communists, according to a committee spokesman. **Variety** reported that this resulted in issuance of ten new subpenas. When it was over, Parks went to New York and took to his bed, "sick of heart and sick," according to his attorney. In Hollywood Mrs. Parks (Betty Garrett) was also ordered to bed by her doctor.

THE BIBERMANS
Gale Sondergaard is the lady

DOES "TELLING" HELP? A committee spokesman said contempt citations would be pressed against Sondergaard and da Silva. Industry leaders wondered what would happen to Parks. Committee members praised him; one feared "if he is blacklisted it may deter others from cooperating." But Columbia canceled a Parks production, the Veterans of Foreign Wars urged a boy-

(Continued on following page)

BOOKS

The lessons of the Scottsboro Case: respectability vs. action

By Lawrence Emery

FROM 1931 to 1935 the International Labor Defense (precursor of the Civil Rights Congress) conducted the defense of the "Scottsboro Boys", nine Alabama Negroes sentenced to death on false "rape" charges. The ILD worked up a world-wide mass movement of protest against U.S. lynch justice for Negroes, won two Supreme Court reversals of death sentences and one re-trial through an Alabama court.

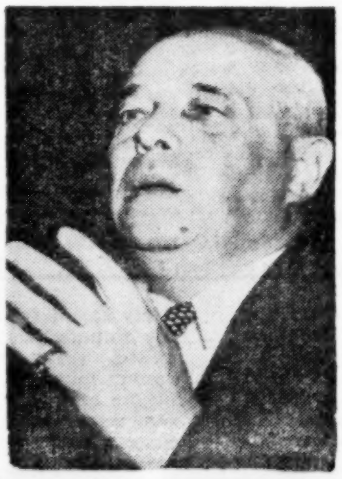
But in December, 1935, new indictments were brought and the ILD was superseded by a new Scottsboro Defense Committee: the NAACP's Walter White, Roger Baldwin for the American Civil Liberties Union, Robert Minor for the ILD, Norman Thomas for the League for Industrial Democracy, Rev. William Spofford for the Episcopal Fedn. for Social Service. Dr. Allan K. Chalmers, then pastor of N.Y.'s Broadway Tabernacle Church and now Professor of Preaching and Applied Christianity at Boston University School of Theology, was chairman.

DON'T BE BEASTLY: Reporting now on the work of this committee, Dr. Chalmers stresses that he was adamant on one issue: there were to be no publicity, no public protest, no mass movements, no "vials of wrath" or "vitriolic bitterness" while he was in charge. His basic principle:

> It is agreed that we shall keep to as absolute a minimum as is possible, the use of the trial for propaganda purposes by various Northern radical organizations.

Here's how this "most unique sociological experiment" worked out:

- In 1937 a "deal" was made whereby four defendants would be freed at once, four would plead guilty to a charge of assault (the rape charge would be dropped) and get five years, Haywood Patterson would have his 75-year sentence commuted to five years. When the cases came to trial later that year, Patterson's sentence remained as it was and the other four not freed were sentenced to (1) 75 years; (2) 99 years; (3) 20 years; (4) death.



SAMUEL LEIBOWITZ
Who accomplished more?

- Dr. Chalmers offered to withdraw all pending appeals if Gov. Bibb Graves would act at once to free the men. Graves wouldn't, but he promised freedom after the cases had gone through all legal channels and set Oct. 31, 1938, as the day he would issue paroles. At the last minute he changed his mind. The defendants themselves were much more acute than their saviors at this point. A leader of the Alabama Committee wrote Dr. Chalmers:

> I still say that you got more out of Graves than [Samuel] Leibowitz [attorney retained by the ILD] and his disciples could have got—a promise to parole the coons. . . . (!)

But defendant Andy Wright wrote:

> The governor just made fools out of you all.

- After drawn-out dickering with a newly-apointed Pardon and Parole Board, the committee in January, 1940, thought the board was sympathetic to freedom for the remaining five. But it took ten more years before the last defendant, Andy Wright, was released; Haywood Patterson got his freedom escaping earlier.

DOES POLITENESS PAY? Under Dr. Chalmers' polite conciliating, it took nearly 20 years from the time of their arrest to get the last man out.

The really remarkable thing is that the prisoners managed to live while he conducted his quiet negotiations with confidence in the decency and honor of Alabama in relation to its Negro citizens.

THEY SHALL GO FREE. By Dr. Allan K. Chalmers. Doubleday, N. Y. 255 pp. $3.

(Continued from preceding page)

cott of his movies, and Hedda Hopper denounced him.

John Garfield also under subpena, said: "I plan to tell all I know." Jose Ferrer, who won an Academy Award last Wednesday, was also reported preparing to tell all. He accepted his Oscar as "an act of faith and a vote of confidence."

Others were taking a different tack. Writer Paul Jarrico said:

> "If I have to choose between crawling in the mud with Larry Parks or going to jail like my courageous friends of the Hollywood Ten, I shall certainly choose the latter."

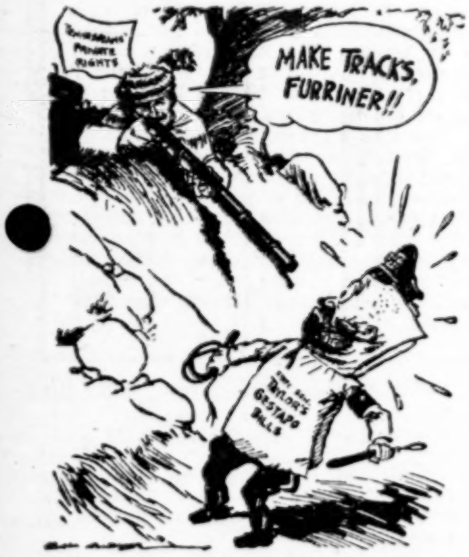
RAPE IS PEANUTS: The AFL Screen Actors Guild made it plain it would not fight the blacklist:

> "If any actor by his own actions outside of union activities has so offended American public opinion that he has made himself unsaleable at the boxoffice, the Guild cannot and would not want to force any employer to hire him."

GUARDIAN's West Coast correspondent, recalling that studios had waited patiently while Errol Flynn was tried for rape and Robert Mitchum for smoking marihuana, quoted a studio executive:

> "But sex and narcotics are a lot different from communism."

The Arts, Sciences and Professions Council announced for April 12, at N.Y.'s Riverside Plaza Hotel, a "commemorative meeting on the sixth anniversary of the death of Franklin D. Roosevelt." Chief speakers: John Howard Lawson, Dalton Trumbo, Albert Maltz, "Hollywood Ten" writers newly out of jail.



Memphis Commercial Appeal

"JUST NATCH'LY DON'T TAKE TO THEM OUTLANDERS"

CHATTANOOGA TIMES (Mar. 8): Nashville, Mar. 7 — By a better than two-to-one margin, the Senate today rejected the two anti-subversive bills sponsored by Sen. H. Frank Tuttle. . . .

FARM

Income off 8% in a year; draft, taxes inflict new woes

FOR small family farmers Harry Truman's small hot war in Korea has nothing but trouble. First casualty was the Brannan price support plan, shelved with no fight in Congress, no protest from national farm leaders. After the outbreak of war some farm prices went up, but last week the Agricultural Dept. reported that U.S. farmers' net income for 1950 was 8% below 1949. The war budget brought drastic cuts in appropriations for rural electrification, the rural phone program, conservation and reclamation, rural health and hospital plans. River development has been all but abandoned. Prices for farm machinery and supplies are still going up.

Present inadequate price supports for farm products are under attack (GUARDIAN, March 21); last week Sen. Joseph C. O'Mahoney (D-Wyo.) announced that his Senate-House Economic Committee was "generally agreed" that Congress should be urged to reduce or end them. Now increased taxes are walloping the farmer, while the draft drains men from the fields.

MONTANANS SAY "NO": How rank-and-file members of the Natl. Farmers Union feel about these things is expressed in a resolution adopted by the Middlefork, Mont., FU Local 123:

> . . . The NFU, as a result of the present war hysteria, has lost sight of the very principles on which the FU was founded. . . . Therefore we propose that the NFU again support a policy of peace by demanding withdrawal of our troops from Korea; demanding that our government take part in negotiations for settlement of outstanding disagreements; oppose rearmament of Nazi Germany, Japan, Italy and Spain.
>
> We propose that the NFU expose and fight against every infringement of democracy and civil liberties in our country. . . . That the NFU fight for an adequate excess profits tax, real price control and rent control, as well as for parity and the Family Farming Act.

The NFU leadership is not fighting for these things. In recent letters to Washington officials and congressmen, president James Patton opposed universal military training because it is "wasteful and inefficient in use of manpower," but backed Selective Service because "it can avoid such waste and inefficiency." He criticized the mobilization program, but only because it is "disproportionate."

PEACEMAKER PURGE: Rank-and-file opposition to their leaders' support of the war program has now led the NFU along the CIO path of purges of individuals and expulsion of organizations. Clifford Durr, general counsel who formerly held several top government posts, was fired because his wife would not repudiate sponsorship of the American Peace Crusade. Louis Henderson, an editor of the **National Union Farmer** and former Mississippi director of the Progressive Party, is "no longer with" the organization. In a further effort to make itself respectable to Washington witch-hunters, the NFU has filed a $250,000 libel suit against the Utah Farm Bureau because that organization called it "Communist-dominated."

CLIFFORD DURR

Peace by association?

The NFU's board meeting early in March refused to seat Fred Stover, Iowa FU president and outstanding peace advocate; lifted the charters of New York, Ohio and Alabama on the technical grounds that their memberships were below constitutional requirements. Both the New York and Alabama organizations were listed on the side of peace. But Alabama's FU president Aubrey Williams, who has advocated peace in his **Southern Farmer**, was not disposed to fight the action. He called it

> . . . a long-overdue carrying out of the notice frequently given during the past five years, that unless we were able to get our membership up to a minimum of 1,000, they would have to revoke our charter. I think the National Board has been extremely patient and considerate. . . .

IOWANS IN BATTLE: Stover, already involved in costly litigation over the Iowa leadership, was battling all the way. He took with him to the board meeting a delegation of 21 members (who paid their own expenses to Denver) to protest national office interference in Iowa's affairs. The current issue of **Iowa Union Farmer** reports:

> The Iowa FU charter remained untouched. It had been reliably reported that the national's palace guard, spearheaded by Ben Stong, intended to lift the charter. This move was foiled either because of the Iowa delegation's appearance . . . or because no legitimate technical reason could be found.

Stover, in his own column, says of the delegation:

> They not only told the sordid story of the cowardly attempt to seize control of the Iowa organization and deliver it over to the Truman war program, but they were the torchbearers who constructively carried the traditional principles of the FU to the conference and thus inspired many others. One victory seems to have been won, and certaintly Iowans helped win it. That is that the FU rank and file will not be delivered over to Wall St. beneficiaries of war without tremendous protest.

McCarran ½ year: 175 face deportation

LAST week the International Securities Act of 1950 (the McCarran Act), was six months old. During that time more than 175 non-citizens in 21 states were arrested for deportation—five are still being held without bail—and preliminary steps were taken to force the Communist Party to register with the Subversive Activities Control Board.

Legal efforts of the CP to force a court test of the law's constitutionality before submitting to hearings before the SACB were defeated on March 26, when the U.S. Supreme Court refused to stay the proceedings pending such test. The CP had until April 3 to file a reply to the Board's demand for hearings.

WONDERING: On Mar. 27, 45 relatives—husbands, wives, children—of the deportation victims came to Washington for a two-day round of visiting with government officials and congressmen with appeals for their release. The group, led by Clemens France, former Rhode Island director of welfare, and Prof. Louise Pettibone Smith of Wellesley College, picketed the White House. Seven war veterans of the group personally delivered to the White House an open letter to the President signed by 125 prominent Americans. At a press conference France said:

> "I have been in France and England. They have a deeper love for freedom of speech than we do here. They are wondering about us anyway. Now when they see us deporting good men for political belief they will wonder more. The last two years have witnessed a weakening of our ties with our so-called friendly nations. You can see that at the UN. This sort of thing will weaken us further. There isn't a bookmaker among these men up for deportation, nor a former mayor of a great city who accepted $10,000."

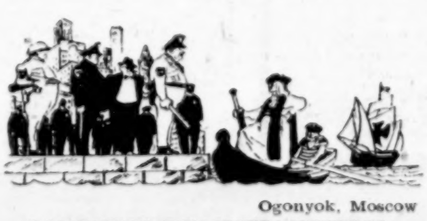
While the delegation was still in Washington, news came that John Zydock of Detroit, one of five victims still in jail, was ordered freed on bail by the U.S. Circuit Court of Appeals.

HIGH COURT APPEAL: Meanwhile, at least two more persons were arrested for deportation in Los Angeles.

The four still held without bail since midnight raids last Oct. 22 are on Terminal Island, San Pedro—David Hyun, Frank Carlson, Harry Carlisle and Miriam Stevenson. The 9th Circuit Court of Appeals recently upheld a lower court ruling denying them bail; an appeal will be taken to the Supreme Court.

The National Committee to Repeal the McCarran Act—endorsed by more than 1,200 community leaders in 48 states—wrote to each of the 51 congressmen who voted to sustain the President's veto of the Act, urging them to introduce a bill for repeal as the "highest act of devotion to your country that you could perform in these times." On Thursday, Rep. Adolph J. Sabath (D-Ill.) introduced such a repeal bill (H.R. 3118). The committee said it would seek a similar bill in the Senate.

At Northwestern University the joint faculty-student Campus Committee of 100 for Repeal of the McCarran Act collected 405 signatures—36 of them from professors—demanding repeal.



Ogonyok, Moscow

COLUMBUS REACHES AMERICA

"Have you ever been or are you now . . . ?"

RELIGION

Melish, Jr., choice as new rector

A LITTLE over two years ago the nine vestrymen of the Protestant Episcopal Church of the Holy Trinity in Brooklyn, N.Y., prevailed upon Bishop James P. De Wolfe to remove as rector Dr. John Howard Melish after 46 years' service. The charge: he backed his son and assistant rector, Rev. William Howard Melish, then chairman of the Natl. Council for American-Soviet Friendship, against charges of "leftist leanings." A court injunction enforced the removal; the case was fought to the Supreme Court on grounds that court interference violated constitutional laws governing separation of church and state; a review by the high court was refused last month.

Last week the church held its annual parish meeting, attended by 200 members. It took these actions:

- Replaced the last of the nine vestrymen who had requested Dr. Melish's removal.
- Elected a Negro to the vestry for the second time.
- Recommended to the new vestry, with one dissenting vote, that Dr. Melish be elected rector emeritus of the parish, with the right to continue living in the rectory.
- Recommended, with a standing vote of 119 to 11, that Dr. Melish's "leftist" son be appointed as the new rector of Holy Trinity.

UNITED NATIONS

UN bosses seeking top UN union jobs

AT meetings of the UN Staff Assn., union of UN employes, UN boss Trygve Lie sits in the audience, occasionally speaks and votes. So do all executives and department heads. It has an inhibiting effect on critical staff members.

Members of management now ask to be made eligible for Assn. officers' jobs. Last week Lie went further, asked that executives be guaranteed posts on the Staff Council so as to assure "equitable representation to all levels."

Recently 70 workers were laid off, including the three top officers of the Assn. Union member Lie has refused to reinstate his brothers and sisters pending their appeal through UN machinery.

Last week's meeting of the Assn., attended by about 600 people, ended indecisively with the hard fight between the management group and the militant staff group still continuing. A demonstration of Tammany-style behind-scenes maneuvering and pressure by the management group left the staff—whose employment status is exceptionally shaky—split down the middle. It seemed the Charter and Human Rights Declaration offered no safeguards against company unionism in the organization which sponsored them.

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EDUCATION

Ivy League diagnoses itself: 'No guts'

"I'M NOT WORRIED about you men now; I'm worried about you 30 years from now." Those conventional words, spoken to Dartmouth College (N.H.) students by Bowdoin College Prof. Edward Chase Kirkland (Dartmouth '16), set off a wave of self-searching on the campus which last month spread to Harvard.

The college paper **The Dartmouth** commented that the state of the '51 class in 1981 did not keep "some of us" awake nights, but its condition in '51 did. This was how the paper saw the students now about to graduate:

> **We're more interested in Security (nee Getting-Rich) than public service or someone else's minimum subsistence. We've watched the College turn into a prep-school for Business Courses and Executive Training. . . . On the positive side, our roots have withered—if one will define "radicalism" as THE ROOTS OF LIFE. There's no foment, no bubbling cauldron. We could not conceive of the American Legion picketing the Experimental Theater today, as it did in the '30's; nor could we imagine a group of us sponsoring speeches by strike leaders in 105 Dartmouth; a Marxist Study Club today would sound heinous to the present undergraduate. . . . We've stopped listening to the Other Side, ceased reading and thinking about it. . . . Every man has his own Iron Curtain, and all of us give in too easily. . . . We would much rather be safe and sure and successful than be called names or be accused of ideological heresy. We have Neon teeth and a firm handshake, but no political guts or conviction. . . . Both faculty and administration, shoulder-to-shoulder, arm-in-arm, have been "walking reluctantly backward into the future."**

THE DISTURBED PROF: From **The Dartmouth**, the Harvard **Crimson** took up the theme with an august admission that these

> **. . . problems are not peculiar to the north woods. The emphasis on security rather than initiative disturbed Prof. Handlin of Harvard's History dept. so much that he wrote a magazine article on it last week.**

The **Crimson,** however, thought it unfair to blame colleges for "the triumph of Suburbia or the possibility of World War III." In a spirit of gentle resignation it reminded Harvard students that

> **. . . the preference for safe plodding rather than expression of unpopular opinions has unfortunately gone far beyond the college stage and is currently plaguing everyone from President Truman down.**

Among those "currently plagued by safe plodding" the **Crimson** editors may have had in mind Harvard president Dr. James B. Conant, who in February came out for "continual flow into the armed forces of those who reach 18" over the next 20-30 years to "defend the free world" against "the Russian hordes." But down in the forest of the Ivy League's hardening arteries, something wholesome seemed to be stirring.

Strangers on the campus

AT WESTERN RESERVE University in Cleveland, the Young Progressives hold a meeting every two weeks. Of late every meeting has been attended by two or three members of the Cleveland Police Subversive Squad, despite a university rule that no outside person may attend campus meetings. A campus civil rights group protested to the authorities but was told that the police had a right to attend. One administrator said that no "Anglo-Saxons had to worry about losing their civil liberties." He corrected himself later. Dr. **John Millis**, university president, said:

> **"Their [the police] coming here is in no further conflict with the principles and objectives of a university than would be the coming of a fire marshal to inspect buildings."**

The Cleveland **Call and Post,** the city, largest Negro newspaper, has denounced the university for its "jim-crow" quota system in the dental school and for its refusal to remove from its history courses a textbook which ridicules Negro contributions to winning the Civil War.

The book, volume 1 of **The Growth of the American Republic,** by Harvard's Samuel Eliot Morrison and Columbia's Henry Steele Commager, gives what the Fisk (Univ.) **Forum** called "light-hearted approval to human slavery." Last month it was dropped as a text by Queens College in New York.

UMT—America never liked the idea

"Universal Military Service and Training represents what I believe is the best way to meet our immediate need for enlarged combat forces and at the same time to provide an enduring base for our military strength. . . . The concept of Universal Military Service and Training reaches back more than 150 years. The Father of Our Country recognized the need for a citizen's army based on reserves of trained manpower."

Gen. George C. Marshall, Secy. of Defense, testifying before the Senate Armed Services Committee, Jan. 10, 1951.

THE AMERICAN PEOPLE have traditionally rejected schemes of military training; at one period they rejected a peace-time army of any kind. A reason for the War of Revolution, as stated in the Declaration of Independence, was: "He [King George] has kept among us, in times of peace, standing armies. . . ."

When the Constitution was drafted, George Washington, as a military man, suggested a plan for a standing federal army. All states objected; they feared a strong military establishment and subsequent concentration of power in the federal government. Speaking against the proposal at the Constitutional Convention, James Madison warned:

> **". . . Standing military forces will not long be safe companions to liberty. The means of defense against foreign danger have always been the instruments of tyranny at home. Among the Romans it was a standing maxim to excite a war, whenever a revolt was apprehended. Throughout all Europe, the armies kept up under the pretext of defending, have enslaved the people."**

THEY DIDN'T LIKE IT: Washington's suggestion of the power of Congress "to raise and support Armies" (Art. I, Sec. 8) was permitted to remain in the final draft of the Constitution, apparently as a concession to him. By stripping his proposal of specific methods of raising and maintaining this army, the Convention showed its intention to keep this a paper power. In ratifying the Constitution nearly every state echoed this feeling by recording its opposition to standing armies. Rhode Island recommended.

> **. . . that no person shall be compelled to do military duty, otherwise than by voluntary enlistment, except in case of general invasion.**

Even after the British had burned our Capitol in the War of 1812, compulsory drafting by the federal government was hotly opposed. On Dec. 9, 1814, Daniel Webster thundered before Congress:

> **Where is it written in the Constitution . . . that you may take children from their parents and parents from their children and compel them to fight the battles of any war which the folly or the wickedness of government may engage in . . . that government possesses over us a power more tyrannical, more arbitrary, more dangerous, more allied to blood and murder . . . more productive of every sort of misery, than has been exercised by any civilized government, with one exception, in modern times. . . . The nation is not yet in a temper to submit to conscription. The people have too fresh and strong a feeling of the blessings of civil liberty to be willing to surrender it. . . . If the administration has found that it cannot form an army without conscription, it will find, if it venture on these experiments, that it cannot enforce conscription without an army.**

Drawing by Blashko

The proposed draft laws were defeated, although N.Y. State did enact its own laws, supposedly to pressure the federal government into doing the same.

CIVIL WAR RIOTS: Only after much opposition was the compulsory draft of troops first instituted—during the Civil War. The first drawing for federal service, July 13, 1863, provoked a serious riot in New York City.

In World War II, as in the first one, conscription was accepted, though not without protest, to raise large forces for a temporary emergency. Care was taken in the selective service acts of 1917 and 1940 to stress that they were for a short-term, specific emergency. An expiration date was set in each draft bill. The idea of **selectivity, not universality,** was specified. Volunteers were not only permitted but encouraged.

IT'S DIFFERENT NOW: The UMT bill now before Congress would do away with the American tradition of anti-militarism; it would end a man's freedom to volunteer if he wished.

After every war some form of UMT bill has been introduced in Congress by the military, hoping to find the country in a more receptive mood. Every bill has been widely opposed by the people. Since 1945 military groups in our country have tried every method to discredit the volunteer system and project UMT as an absolute necessity.

Congress learned in 1947 of the War Dept. drive to discourage voluntary enlistments: "adjusting" volunteer enlistment figures; putting into entrance tests for volunteers trick questions which could not be answered even by the then head of the House Armed Services Committee, a former officer; raising minimum test scores when too many passed.

The current campaign, significantly, is not merely for lowering the draft age or extending the present limited, selective draft law (Selective Service Act of 1948, expiring July 9, 1951); it is a drive by the military to exploit a trumped-up emergency to enforce compulsory training for all citizens and a permanent war program.

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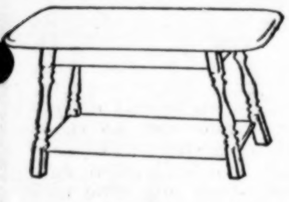
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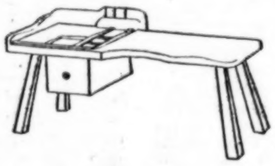
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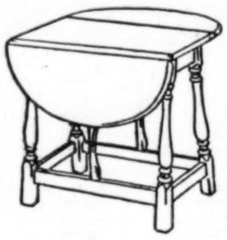
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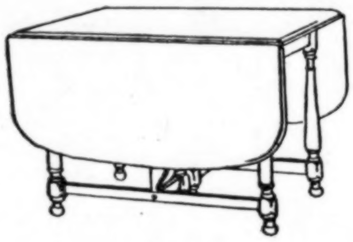
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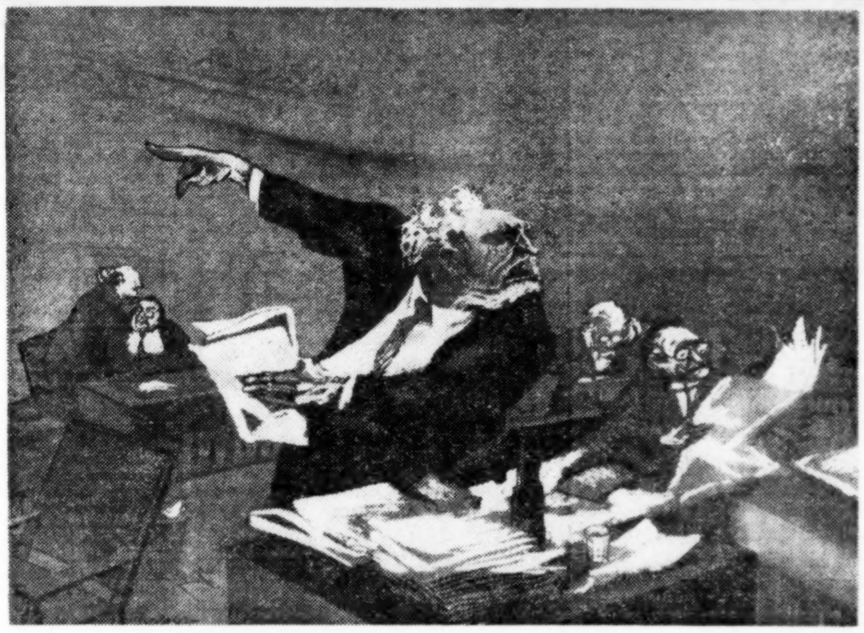

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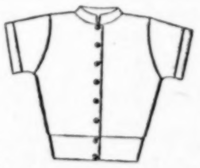

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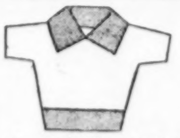

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INFANTS' CLOTHING: Tests of infants' shirts, gowns and training pants showed that some brands rated "Excellent" by Consumers Union cost no more than a number which were rated only "Fair" or "Poor." All garments were washed repeatedly, then inspected for rips, holes and tears, and tested for wear. Ratings were based on estimated durability. The only shirt found "Excellent" was **Speedon** (49c to 59c). Some shirts rated "Good" were: **Boston Knit Quickees,** 59c; **Sears Honeysuckle** No. 29 E 5972, 29 E 5974, 29 E 5970, 3 of any one style for $1.47 plus shipping; **Nazareth,** 49c; **Carter's,** 69c to 85c.

Spencer's, 59c, 1×1 rib, and **Carter's,** $1.25, were the only gowns rated "Excellent." **Sears Honeysuckle,** Cat. No. 29 E 5772, 74c plus shipping and 29 E 5761, 79c plus shipping rated "Good."

The following training pants were all rated "Excellent": **Nazareth,** 59c (not to be confused with **Nazareth** at 39c rated "Poor"); **Speedon,** 49c; **Carter's,** 65c to 75c; **Spiegel,** Cat. No. 28 T 2843, 3 for 98c.

CHILDREN'S SHOES: If you want to get your child shoes of good quality, you will have to pay a pretty steep price for them. Cheaper shoes may, however, be good buys for the child whose feet are growing rapidly. CU tested 14 lines ranging in price from $4.49 to $9.45. All shoes tested were oxfords, most of them size 2. The following five top-ranking brands were judged about equal based on quality of materials and construction features. They are listed in order of increasing price: **Poll-Parrot,** $6.45 to $7.99; **Weather Bird,** $7.50 to $8; **Kali-Sten-Iks,** $7.95 to $8.45; **Pediforme,** $9.25; **Indian-Walk,** $9.45.

AUTOMOBILE STORAGE BATTERIES: A high price won't necessarily buy you a good storage battery. One costing over $20 was rated "Excellent", but another one at about the same price was rated "Not Acceptable." On the other hand, two mail order brands of auto batteries considered "Best Buys" sell for $11 to $13 plus shipping. The greatest emphasis in the tests of 26 batteries was placed on an accelerated life test in which the batteries were charged and discharged continuously, and on starting performance—the ability to start the engine in cold weather. All batteries rated were size 1, 100-ampere-hour capacity. The following were rated "Excellent" in order of over-all quality:

Auto-Lite Staful, 1 HG-100 R, $22.85; **Prest-O-Lite** Hi-Level, HG 1-100 R, $22.80; **National** Kathanode Heavy Duty, 1-KG-100, $21.90; **Spiegel** Argyle Super Power, Cat. No. L 86 T 3810, $12.95 plus shipping; **Sears** Allstate Cross Country, Cat. No. 28 EM 46 F, $10.55 plus shipping. The last two were considered "Best Buys."

(This is a digest of articles appearing in Consumer Reports, monthly magazine published by Consumers Union, 39 E. First St., N. Y. 3. Product ratings are based on unbiased laboratory tests.)

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CALENDAR

Chicago

GALA OPENING MONTH, ASP Center, 946 N. Clark St. Sat., Apr. 7, 8:30 p.m. Celebrity Evening and Party; Guest, Arthur Kahn, noted author of "Betrayal." Sun., Apr. 8, 8 p.m., Sneak-Preview of "Throwback," new play of present-day Negro life in America, presented in person by the author, Theodore Ward. Admission each event: $1 plus tax; members, 75c plus tax.

EVERYBODY'S COMING, ARE YOU? The big FREE PRESS dance Sat., Apr. 7, at 9 p.m. at the Greek-American Cultural Center, 522 S. Halsted St. Music by Charles Collins' band, vocals by Lana Ladd. Food, drink, entertainment. Tickets 75c in advance, $1 at the door; available at the Modern Bookstore, 180 W. Washington St. Auspices: Freedom of the Press Committee.

BARN DANCE, Saturday night, Apr. 7, at Packinghouse Center, 4859 S. Wabash. Professional caller, bazaar, group singing, corn-on-the-cob. Donation, 75c. Auspices, South Siders for Peace.

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Saturday, April 14, 9 p.m. Chopin Cultural Center, 1547 N. Leavitt St. Auspices: Chicago Labor Conference for Peace. Adm.: $1, tax incl.

New York

HONOR JOHN HOWARD LAWSON, ALBERT MALTZ, DALTON TRUMBO at their first public appearance since their release from prison. Defend yourself and the victims of the Un-American Activities Committee. Speak up for peace on the 6th anniversary of the death of Franklin D. Roosevelt. Attend the meeting on Thurs., Apr. 12, 8 p.m., at the Riverside Plaza Hotel, 253 W. 73d St., N. Y. C. Adm. $1.20 incl. tax. Auspices: National Council of ASP, 49 W. 44th St., N. Y. .C.

PRIMAVERA, FESTIVAL OF PEACE & SPRING. Life is wonderful when there is peace in Spring. And we honor two valiant fighters for peace, whose life has been like an eternal spring: Molly and Norman Tallentire at Upshure's Studio, 647 Broadway, near Bleecker, Sat., Apr. 7, 9 p.m. Come one, come all. Wonderful entertainment (no speeches). Refreshments, dance, songs, everything! Village LaGuardia Club, 166 Thompson St., N. Y. C.

Boston

A NATIONALITIES FESTIVAL — "Sing and Dance for Peace." Bring your family, bring your friends, sing and sally 'till the evening ends. A variety of nationalities' dishes at reasonable prices will be served. Sat., April 7, 8 p.m. Ritz Plaza Halls, 218 Huntington Av. (near Symphony Hall). Adm. 75c.

Minnesota

MINNESOTANS FOR PEACE will hold their second state convention on Sun., April 15, at Labor Lyceum, 1800 Olson Highway, Minneapolis. All Minnesotans are urged to attend. Meetings start 10 a.m. Lunch served at nominal fee. For further information write Minnesotans For Peace, Main P. O., Box 1014, Minneapolis, Minn.

MINNESOTA PROGRESSIVE PARTY will hold a mass meeting Sat., April 14, 8 p.m., in Labor Lyceum, 1800 Olson Highway, Minneapolis. Arthur Kahn, author of recently published "Betrayal," will be the featured speaker. Everybody welcome.

Los Angeles

CORONET-LOUVRE, 366 N. La Cienega, CR. 5-7170. EVENING OF GERMAN CLASSICS, incl. "Cabinet of Dr. Caligari" and "Last Laugh," April 11, 8:30 p.m. San Francisco Museum of Art program, April 12, 13, 8:15 p.m. "The New Gulliver," famous Soviet film, plus art shorts, April 14, 15, cont. from 7 p.m.

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General

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